HISTORY

AND

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

OF

NEW FRANCE

BY

THE REV. P.F.X. DE CHARLEVOIX, S.J.

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TALON

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THE REV. P.F.X. DE CHARLEVOIX, S.J.

TRANSLATED, WITH NOTES, BY JOHN GILMARY SHEA

IN SIX VOLUMES

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HISTORY

AND

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

OF

NEW FRANCE:

WHEREIN WILL BE FOUND

ALL THAT RELATES TO THE DISCOVERIES AND CONQUESTS
OF THE FRENCH IN NORTH AMERICA.

BOOK VIII.

1657.

The missionaries at Onondaga.

THE good understanding between us and the Upper Iroquois at first seemed unaffected by what had occurred at Quebec in the Huron matter; but to render it durable, would have required that their deputies should conceive an exalted idea of our power, and unfortunately they came only to witness our weakness. It became even daily more manifest, by the kind of indifference with which we submitted to the inroads of the Mohawks. None reflected more bitterly on this than the missionaries, who, better informed of the character of the Indians, whose languages few but themselves understood, durst not flatter themselves that the establishment at Onondaga was at all a solid one. They did not fail to express their opinion to the proper parties; but it was still more their ministry to profit by the actual dispositions of that people in order to second the views of Providence for the salvation of

1657. many, and they spared themselves in nothing that was expected from their zeal.[1]

Progress of religion among the Upper Iroquois.

Father Chaumonot, on proceeding to visit the canton of Seneca,[2] found there a great number of Huron Christians,[3] whose good example had disposed many heathens to receive the light of the gospel.[4] It seemed that the Almighty had dispersed that nation among the other savages, like the Jews of old in the realms of the monarchs of Babylon and Persia, only to make His name known there and prepare worshippers of it. "What a difference," said the Indians, "between these Christians and the Dutch! They all acknowledge the same God, they say; but the conduct of the latter is far from being as well ordered as that of the former. When we go to see the French, we always return with a true desire to pray: at Orange they never speak to us of the Prayer, and we do not even know whether they do pray there." Would to God that the nations of Canada could have always held the same language in regard to us!

Father Mesnard had still greater success in the cantons of Cayuga and Seneca.[5] In the first year he conferred baptism on four hundred persons,[6] and he had every reason to promise himself a more abundant harvest in the coming time; but God's counsels are inscrutable. At the very time these Indians were deemed most to be relied upon, they escaped from grace, and the colony had scarcely had breathing-time after its late losses, before it found itself replunged into all the horrors of a war where every thing was to be feared, and absolutely nothing to gain. It was at Montreal that they first began to notice a great change in the mind of the Upper Iroquois.

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[1] Relation de la N. F., 1656, p. 2.

[2] Tsonnonthouan. Father Chaumonot set out late in August, 1656, with Father René Ménard, and first visited Cayuga: Relation de la N. F., 1657, p. 43. He then proceeded to Gandagan, a Seneca town: ib., p. 45; Chaumonot, Autobiog., p. 70.

[3] Especially those of the Huron town, St. Michael's: Ante, vol. ii., p. 225; Rel., 1660, p. 14.

[4] Rel. de la N. F., 1657, pp. 41, 49.

[5] Goyogouin and Tsonnonthouan.

[6] This is evidently based on a statement in Relation de la N. F., 1657, p. 54, and that in 1663, p. 23, that he had a church of 400 Christians. The Relations, 1657 and 1658, describe these labors, and the Relation de la N. F., 1658, p. 2, sums up all the baptisms during the period of this mission by all, at "500 children and a number of adults."

The Onondagas ill-treat the Hurons.

Onondagas had arrived in that island to receive the Hurons and take them to their canton, as agreed upon the year previous; some Frenchmen and two Jesuits were to accompany them; but they were greatly surprised when, on the day of departure, the Onondagas declared that they would take only the Hurons in their canoes. They yielded, indeed, in favor of some of the Frenchmen, but they obstinately excluded the two Jesuits, who, on their side, unwilling to abandon their neophytes, were compelled to embark in a canoe which they found on the bank, with no provisions but a little bag of flour.[1]

This conduct of the Onondagas, for which men were unprepared, seemed to augur ill for the Hurons: many beheld them depart only to deplore the sad lot which awaited them, and their presentiments were but too well founded. Those unfortunate Christians did not proceed far without discovering that they were irretrievably ruined. A young woman refusing to yield to the passion of an Iroquois chief, was tomahawked on the spot by the barbarian; and as though only this signal was awaited to throw aside the mask that covered the blackest of perfidies, a great number of the most eminent Hurons were massacred a moment after. The others were regarded only as prisoners just taken in war; and some were even burnt, although it was impossible to ascertain the reason of so unworthy a treatment.[2]

The French expected to be treated no better than the Hurons; and, in fact, it had been resolved to massacre them all, beginning by the two missionaries. What pre-

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[1] Ragueneau, in Relation de la N. F., 1657, p. 54.

[2] Ib., p. 55. Seven Hurons were killed, besides the girl: Relation de la N. F., 1658, p. 2. The massacre occurred August 3, 1657: Rel., 1658, p. 9; Journal of Jesuit Superior, Oct. 6, 1657.

1657. vented the execution of the design, I cannot discover: but if they escaped this danger, it was only to fall into another, where for a long time their destruction seemed inevitable. The first thing they learned on reaching Onondaga, was that a conspiracy against the French had been discovered. This strange revolution was attributed to the following cause.[1]

The Iroquois conspire against the French.

A band of Oneidas, having gone towards Montreal to hunt, surprised three Frenchmen in a solitary spot, killed them, and carried the scalps to the village from which they started.[2] Mr. d'Ailleboût, who commanded at Quebec because Mr. de Lauson had returned to France,[3] without waiting for his successor, demanded satisfaction for this outrage, and to force the nation to give it, ordered all the Iroquois in the colony to be arrested. He was obeyed, and the first impulse caused in the cantons by the tidings of this order, made them adopt the most violent resolutions. They were not, however, carried out; and they confined themselves to a course adopted coolly, and after mature deliberation.[4]

Father le Moyne, who was among the Mohawks, was to be requested to go to Quebec[5] to negotiate the release of

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[1] They left Montreal July 26, but the time of their arrival at Onondaga is not given: Rel., 1657, p. 54; 1658, p. 9. The news of this massacre did not reach Quebec till Oct. 6, and on the 28th Sept., F. Poncet had been sent to join the other missionaries at Onondaga, but hearing of it returned: Jesuit Journal. The bearers of Ragueneau's letter of information were pursued, and narrowly escaped: Rel., 1658, p. 10. The Onondagas sent two belts to excuse the act: Jesuit Journal, Oct. 20, 1657.

[2] Oct. 25: Relation de la N. F., 1658, p. 10. The victims were Nicholas Godet, St. Père and his lad: Jesuit Journal, Nov. 1, 1657; Dollier de Casson, Histoire de Montreal, 1657–8; Belmont, Histoire du Canada, p. 9. See Faillon, Histoire de la Colonie Française, ii., p. 364, for marvels said to have attended St. Père's death.

[3] De Lauson Charny sailed for France on the vessel of Capt. Poulet, Sept. 18: Jesuit Journal.

[4] Relation de la N. F., 1658, p. 11. The massacre of the French at Onondaga was taken up in council: Ib., p. 14.

[5] The Governor wrote to Le Moyne, and Mohawk deputies came to explain: Relation, 1658, pp. 12–15. Le Moyne felt his position so dangerous that he retired to Fort Orange, whence he wrote, March 25, 1658, announcing his speedy de-

1657. the arrested Iroquois. Under the pretext of doing him honor, and protecting him against the insults of the young men, then greatly excited against the French, it was decided to give him a large escort, and at the same time send out several war-parties to scatter around the colony. As soon as these learned of the release of their countrymen, they were to plunder and massacre all the Frenchmen or allies of the French that they could find. After this, the same thing was to be done at Onondaga.[1]

The conspiracy is discovered. 1658.

Father le Moyne did not, however, set out, and I know not why; but as early as the month of February, in the following year, numerous parties of Mohawks, Oneidas, and Onondagas, all in war-paint, took the field.[2] It did not require all this to arouse the suspicion of the French commandant, Dupuys, who soon after learned from a Christian all the details of the plot.[3] He then found himself in a great dilemma, and, in fact, he saw no means of extricating himself that had not strong objections. To strengthen his position and stand a siege was only to prolong, not escape his doom, because he had no relief to expect from Quebec, or none that could reach him in season. Sooner or later he must needs surrender, die fighting, or perish with hunger and hardships.

To escape, required first the making of canoes; for no precaution had been taken to retain a certain number, and to work at any would be giving notice of their intention to

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parture in a Dutch vessel for Quebec: Ib., p. 15. He had also, in 1657, descended to Manhattan, where he announced to Dominie Megapolensis the existence of salt-springs at Onondaga (O'Callaghan's New Netherland, ii., p. 303), though the Dutch clergyman turned as deaf an ear to such a story as he did to the controversial treatises subsequently sent him by his Jesuit friend: Ib., p. 363. Le Moyne, at the request of the Dutch, negotiated with the acting Governor of Canada, D'Ailleboust, a commercial treaty between the colonies, and communicated his success in a letter dated Fort Orange, April 7, 1658, which, with the enclosed letter of D'Ailleboust, are given in O'Callaghan's N. N., ii., p. 364, n.

[1] Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1658, pp. 3, 14.

[2] Ib., p. 12.

[3] See Relation, 1658, p. 3. On p. 4, it says they learned the details only after their escape. D'Ailleboust sent orders to Dupuys, which never reached him: p. 12.

1658. withdraw, and make escape impossible. Yet they had to resolve upon a course without delay, and the following was adopted by the commandant. He began by sending an express to Mr. d'Ailleboût, to inform him of the conspiracy. He then gave his orders to build in haste small light boats; and to prevent the Iroquois getting the least idea of their project, he caused the work to be done in the garret of the house of the Jesuits, which was a little more isolated than the rest, and larger.[1]

Dupuys' plans.

This done, he notified his people to hold themselves in readiness to start on the day which he fixed, and make severally their preparations for the voyage, carefully avoiding what would give the Iroquois any suspicion. There now remained only to take steps to embark so secretly that the Indians should have no knowledge of the retreat of the French, till they had had sufficient start to be no longer in fear of pursuit; and they succeeded by a somewhat curious stratagem.[2]

Indian adoption.

A young Frenchman had been adopted by one of the greatest men at Onondaga. This kind of adoption, which became, at a later date, quite common, has all the advantages of the adoption practised by the Romans, except the right of inheriting, which amounts to nothing among Indians: moreover, they have not the burdens, and are unaffected even by the wars which may break out. Hence it has come to pass, that we have no less frequently than successfully employed Frenchmen adopted by the Iroquois to negotiate treaties of peace with them.[3]

Retreat of the French.

The young man just mentioned went to his adoptive father and told him that he had just dreamed of one of those feasts where all served up must be eaten.[4] He begged him to give one of that kind to the whole village; and he

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[1] There was apparently only one house: Relation, 1660, p. 25.

[2] M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Lettres, p. 536; Relation, 1658, p. 7. D'Argenson censured their course: Can. Doc., II., i., 324.

[3] The Le Moynes and Joncaires thus acquired their influence.

[4] Lafitau, Mœurs des Sauvages, i., 575; Perrot, Mœurs et Coustumes, p. 14. They are supposed to have been originally a sort of holocaust.

1658.

Flight of the colony.

told him that he had the impression on his mind, that if any thing was left, he would die. The Indian told him that he would be very sorry to see him die; that he should himself order the feast, while he would take care of the invitations, and make sure that nothing should be left. On this promise, the young man fixed the 19th of March for his feast, being the day set for the departure. All the provisions on hand that they could dispense with were used, and all the Indians invited.[1]

The banquet began in the evening,[2] and to give our people an opportunity to launch their boats and load them without being heard in the village, drums and trumpets kept up an incessant din around the cabin of the banquet. All being ready, the young man, at a given signal, told his adoptive father that he took pity on his guests, most of whom had already cried for quarter; that they might stop eating and rest, and that he was going to give all a refreshing sleep. He at once began to play the guitar, and in less than a quarter of an hour there was not a single Indian but was sound asleep. Then he went out, and joined the little flotilla, which, on the moment, pushed off from the shore.[3]

Early next morning many Indians went, as they usually did on rising, to see the French, and found every door locked.[4] This new step, and the profound silence which prevailed all around, amazed them. They at first thought that the missionaries were saying Mass, or that the French

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[1] M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Lettres, p. 536.

[2] They invited all the Indians near their house: Relation de la N. F., 1658, p. 7.

[3] The boats were taken down and loaded by about 40 men, says Ragueneau. Then the banquet broke up, and as soon as all was still they left their house by a rear door, and stealthily embarked: Relation de la N. F., 1658, p. 7.

[4] The settlers under Dupuys seem to have erected but one house of considerable size (Ste. Marie de Ganentaa), at a delightful spot on the margin of Lake Onondaga (the Ganentaa of the Onondagas, which Morgan explains as meaning "Material for the Council Fire"). A spring still issuing from the hillside is known as the Jesuit Well. See Rel., 1656, p. 14. This mission cost the Jesuits 7000 liv.: Bouvart, MS.

1658. were in council; but after waiting for several hours to no purpose, they knocked at several doors. Some dogs, which had been left loose in the houses, replied by barking; they also perceived some poultry through the palisades; but no human being was to be seen. At last, towards evening, they broke in the doors, and their surprise knew no bounds on their discovering all the houses empty.[1]

Flight of the colony.

They were long unable to understand how the French, who had no canoes as they well knew, had been able to get off; and there is not a vision that did not enter their heads, in place of their imagining the way in which the thing really was effected. It was, in fact, the first time that boats had been used on such voyages: but even if the French had possessed canoes, it would have been impossible to use them, so covered were the rivers still with ice; and this too prevented the Iroquois from pursuing them.[2]

Still, Mr. Dupuys was not free from fears that they would pursue him; and he used such exertions, that in spite of head winds, which detained him quite a time on Lake Ontario, he reached Montreal in fifteen days. Joy at beholding himself delivered from so great a danger, did not so flatter that officer as to prevent his feeling that such a precipitate flight was shameful to his nation, and regretting that they had neglected to put him, by a trifling assistance, in a position to sustain a settlement of that importance, and impose laws on a people who derived their strength, and the right of insulting us, only from our weakness.[3]

The Iroquois renew hostilities.

He found the whole island of Montreal in the greatest alarm. Nothing was to be seen on all sides but Iroquois parties, which, without openly declaring themselves enemies, caused fearful disorders on all sides, so that no one durst appear in the fields.[1]

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[1] M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Lettres, p. 537.

[2] Ib.

[3] Relation de la N. F., 1658, p. 78; Marie de l'Incarnation, Lettres, p. 537. Mr. Faillon cites, for other details, d'Allet, Deuxième Memoire in Œuvres d'Arnauld, xxxiv., p. 734.

Towards the end of May, Father le Moyne arrived at the same place, brought in by Mohawks, who had pledged their word to conduct him safe and sound to a French settlement. They kept their word exactly; but after that the whole nation threw off the mask, and the war became more fierce than it had ever been.[2]

M. d'Argenson, Governor-General

On the 11th of July, Viscount d'Argenson landed at Quebec,[3] and was received as governor-general. The next day he was surprised to hear a cry, "To arms!" and they came to tell him that some Algonquins had just been massacred under the guns of the fort. He at once detached two hundred men,[4] French and Indians, to pursue those savages, but they did not overtake them. They found two children, whom the Indians had abandoned to move more rapidly, and three women, one dead, the other two dangerously wounded.[5]

Soon after, some Mohawks approached Three Rivers with the design of surprising that post; and the better to succeed in their enterprise, they detached eight men, who, under pretence of parleying, had orders to observe carefully the condition of the place; but Mr. de la Potherie, who was in command there, put one in prison, and sent the rest to the general, who gave them a short trial.[6]

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[1] They reached Montreal, April 3, 1658: Relation de la N. F., 1658, p. 8. I find no authority for this alarm at Montreal.

[2] Ib., p. 16; Can. Doc., II., i., 356.

[3] Pierre de Voyer, Viscount d'Argenson: Rellaion de la N. F., 1658, p. 17. The Governor, in two different letters, says he arrived on the 6th and the 10th, but De Quen's Journal gives the 11th. He was a young man of 30 or 32, but was highly recommended by President de Lamoignon: Ferland, Cours d'Hist., p. 444.

[4] The Relation says 220, exclusive of Indians, but the Emplois du Vicomte d'Argenson says 160.

[5] Can. Doc., II., i., 265, 301, 307.

[6] De la Poterie took ten, and sent seven to the Governor-General: Rel., p. 18. Their leader was Atog8ask8an (The Great Spoon). De Quen (Journal, Sept. 7, 1658) gives their address and the Governor's answer. They were held prisoners, but not executed. Dutch accounts show that they were sincere. They had a Dutch soldier as spokesman, and bore a letter from La Montagne to

1658. This vigorous conduct had all the success anticipated, and brought the colony some repose. The missionaries profited by it to begin their apostolical excursions in the north, and discovered several routes to Hudson's Bay.[1]

Arrival of the first Bishop of New France

Such was the situation of New France, when, on the 6th of June, 1659, Francis de Laval (previously known under the name of the Abbé de Montigny), titular bishop of Petræa, and provided by the Sovereign Pontiff with a brief as Vicar-Apostolic, landed at Quebec.[2] For some years

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De la Potherie, dated 15th Aug., 1658, given in O'Callaghan's New Netherland, ii., p. 366. D'Argenson sent two back to the Mohawk to propose peace: M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Lettre Oct. 4, 1658.

[1] Relation de la N. F., 1658, p. 18 These discoveries were made by Father Gabriel Druillettes, who had obtained information through the North of the tribes in Wisconsin.

[2] Lettres Envoyées de la Nouvelle France, p. 1. The date is June 16: Ib.; De Quen, Journal, June 16, 1659; La Tour, Vie de M. de Laval, p. 22; Esquisse de la Vie Mgr. de Laval, Quebec, 1845, p. 20; Vie de la M. Marie de l'Incarnation, p. 367. François Xavier de Laval Montmorency, the first bishop north of Mexico since the extinction of the see of Garda, was born at Laval, in Maine, April 30, 1623, son of Hugh de Laval, Sieur de Montigny, and was ordained in 1646. He was already archdeacon of Evreux, but renounced that dignity, and led a life of piety and recollection. In 1651 he was nominated as bishop for Cochin-China, but he was never consecrated. We have seen already (ante, ii., p. 183), that the Society of Montreal early endeavored to have a bishop at that place, and that Mr. Le Gauffre, successor and biographer of the celebrated Father Bernard, "the poor priest," was actually nominated by the king. They resumed the matter in 1656, and had Gabriel de Thubière de Levy Queylus, Abbé de Loc Dieu, nominated to the king by the General Assembly of the French bishops. The Jesuits, who were the only priests in Canada, proposed the Abbé de Montigny; and the king, early in 1657, requested the Pope to erect Quebec into a see, and appoint the Abbé de Montigny bishop. Intrigues delayed the action of the Pope on this request, and the Abbé de Queylus obtained letters from the Archbishop of Rouen, dated April 22, 1657, making him Vicar-General, in the place of the Superior of the Jesuits at Quebec, who had hitherto held that office. His sudden arrival produced great surprise and trouble, since the Abbé de Montigny was expected as bishop; but de Queylus took possession of the parish church at Quebec, and placed some of his associates there, and others at Montreal; and the Jesuits, founders of the churches, were confined in their ministry to their house, which they were cited to surrender. It was apparently a part of a preconcerted plan to place the Abbé de Queylus at the head of the clergy in Canada, to justify his promotion; and the moment was favorable, as M. D'Aillebout, one of the Montreal Society, was Governor. Meanwhile the Arch-

past the Jesuits, convinced that the presence of an ecclesiastical superior, invested with a character capable of inspiring respect, had become necessary in the colony to remedy certain disorders which had begun to creep in, had asked the court to send a bishop to Canada. The queen mother, Anne of Austria, before whom the matter had been laid during her regency, advised that one of the old missionaries should be chosen to fill the post; and it is said that she cast her eyes on Father Paul le Jeune, who had governed the mission for several years, and who was then at Paris, engaged in the direction of souls, and in high repute for sanctity and prudence; but the Jesuits represented that their institute did not permit them to accept that dignity, and proposed to her the Abbé de Montigny, who was accepted.[1] 1658.

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bishop of Rouen, perceiving the confusion he had occasioned, by new letters of March 30, 1658, restricted the Abbé de Queylus to Montreal. Meanwhile, at Rome it was proposed to appoint a Vicar-Apostolic in the first instance; and in May, 1658, the Abbé de Montigny was preconized, and on June 3 obtained his bulls as Bishop of Petræa. Intrigues began again; the Archbishop of Rouen protested against his consecration. He was accordingly consecrated Dec. 8, 1658, by the Papal Nuncio and two bishops, secretly. The parliaments of Paris and Rouen then interfered to compel Mgr. de Laval, as he was now styled, to present his bulls. He finally received his bulls as Vicar-Apostolic; but the Archbishop of Rouen still claimed jurisdiction in Canada, and insisted that Mgr. de Laval should take faculties from him. As this claim was not recognized, he sent a new appointment to the Abbé de Queylus, with a letter of the king ordering him to continue his functions (May 11, 1659); but the king, three days later, recalled this order, admitting that the Pope did not admit the archbishop's pretensions. Under a new letter the Abbé de Queylus was arrested by the Governor's order and sent back to France, Oct. 22, 1659. Mr. Faillon treats the matter at great length in defence of the Abbé Queylus, but it is not easy to justify his course. See Journal of Superior of the Jesuits, Les Ursulines de Quebec, i., 227. For an appreciation of Mgr. Laval, see Ferland, Cours d'Histoire, p. 449. There is a life of him by the Abbé Louis Bertrand de la Tour; and another, Esquisse de la Vie et des Travaux Apostoliques de sa Grandeur Mgr. Fr. Xavier de Laval Montmorency, 1er Eveque de Quebec: Quebec, 1845. This latter contains also the discourse pronounced at the month's mind by M. de la Colombière.

[1] Carayon, Documents Inédits, xii. 255. The Canada Company nominated Father Charles Lalemant: Ib. Father Paul Le Jeune was born in

1658.

Change in the ecclesiastical government of Canada.

Father Jerome Lallemant, who had not returned to America since his voyage to France to lay before the Canada Company the necessities of that country, was then rector of the college of la Flèche. The new prelate asked the general of the Society of Jesus for this missionary, as a man who was necessary to him, and that religious willingly devoted the rest of his days to the conversion of the Indians,[1] under the orders of a bishop worthy of the primitive church. Some secular clergymen[2] also came over with the bishop of Petræa; others joined him in the ensuing years,[3] and, as they arrived, they were put in possession of parishes, of which the Jesuits had till then had charge, inasmuch as they were the only priests in New France.

Parishes in Canada.

The new parochial clergy at first served the parishes only by commission; they were for a long time removable at the will of the bishop,[4] and sometimes of the Superior of the Seminary of Quebec, who was himself, and still is, appointed by the directors of the Seminary of the Foreign Missions at Paris. Things have changed somewhat on this point, since the court ordered parish priests to be unremovable in Canada as in France; but they are far from being so in all cases yet, and the island of Montreal, with the parishes dependent on it, is still on the old foot-

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1592. After completing his theological studies he was appointed Superior of the College of Dieppe. He came to Canada July 5, 1632, and was Superior of the mission till 1639. After laboring on the mission till 1649 he returned to France, and was Procurator of the Foreign Missions. He died August 7, 1664. Besides nine volumes of Relations, he wrote a Ten Days' Retreat and other spiritual works. His portrait, engraved apparently after his death, gives him high eulogium.

[1] He returned from France with Governor de Lauson in 1651, but proceeded to France again, Sept. 2, 1656: De Quen, Journal, Oct. 1656; Martin, Relations des Jésuites, p. 23; Can. Doc., II., i., 333.

[2] Messrs. Torcapel and Pelerin: Esquisse de la Vie de Mgr. Laval, Quebec, 1845, p. 19; La Tour, Vie de Mgr. de Laval, p. 21. De Lauson Charni, previously acting governor, but now a priest, also came: Jesuit Journal.

[3] Messrs. Louis Ango des Maizerets, Hughes Paulmiers, Jean Dudouyt.

[4] Edict of April, 1663; Edits et Ordonnances, i., p. 36.

ing, under the direction of the clergy of the Seminary of St. Sulpice.[1]

The island of Montreal ceded to the Seminary of St. Sulpice.

Two years before this time, that seminary had acquired all the rights of the first proprietors of that island.[2] Some years previously the Abbé de Quélus had come to Quebec, furnished with an appointment as Vicar-General by the Archbishop of Rouen; but as the jurisdiction of that prelate over New France was not based on any title,[3] and as the bishops of Nantes and Rochelle made the same pretensions as he did, the Abbé de Quélus was not recognized as Vicar-General, and returned to France. He came back in 1657, with deputies from the Seminary of St. Sulpice, to take possession of the island of Montreal and found a seminary there.[4] In this there were none to gainsay him, the whole colony being charmed to see an accredited body, powerful and fruitful in excellent priests, undertake to clear and settle an island, on which the first proprietors had not pushed colonization as much as had been at first expected.

In 1662, the bishop of Petræa having gone back to France for an object to be explained hereafter, proposed

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[1] Edicts of April, 1663, and July 12, 1707; Edits et Ordonnances, i., p. 305. The question of the removability of curés is still unsettled. The Seminary of St. Sulpice retained its parochial rights till the year 1866, when the city was divided into several parishes.

[2] The transfer was not executed by Fancamp, Queylus, Garibal, etc., till March 9, 1663 (Faillon, Histoire de la Colonie Française, iii., p. 61; Edits et Ordonnances, i., p. 93); and Mr. Souart took formal possession of the island, Aug. 18, 1663: Ib., p. 73.

[3] It was recognized, however, the Superior of the Jesuits having long acted as Vicar-General of the Archbishop of Rouen: Ferland, Cours d'Histoire, p. 448.

[4] The dates are here confused. Mr. Olier selected Mr. Queylus, in 1656, to proceed to Montreal, with Rev. Messrs. Souart and Galinier, and Mr. Alet, a deacon. He embarked May 17, 1657, at Nantes, and reached Quebec July 29. He was recognized, and acted as V. G. till August 8, 1658, when Father De Quen notified him of his patent as Vicar-General: Journal, August 8, 1658. After the arrival of Mgr. de Laval, he was sent back to France, Oct. 22, 1659. He then went to Rome, and having got a bull erecting Montreal into a parish, returned in 1661, arriving at Quebec *incog.*, August 3, 1661. Mgr. de Laval refused to allow him to proceed to Montreal, but he did nevertheless. A lettre de cachet arrived, and he embarked for France Oct. 22.

1662. to the king's council the erection of a seminary at Quebec. His majesty consented,[1] and a patent was issued, in the month of April of the ensuing year, in favor of the clergy of the Seminary of the Foreign Missions.[2] As this seminary, according to the system of that time, was to supply the whole colony with parochial clergy, the prelate obtained that the tithes should be paid to the directors of the new seminary, and had them fixed at one-thirteenth of all that was liable to tithe rates.[3] This was found heavy for colonists who were not rich, and led to various representations in their name.[4]

Establishment of the Seminary of Quebec.

Various regulations as to tithes.

They were heard, and in the month of September, 1667, the superior council of New France made an act in form of regulation, stating that provisionally, and without prejudice to the letters-patent granted by his majesty, the tithes to be raised should be only one twenty-sixth; but that they should be payable in grain and not in sheaves, and that newly cleared lands should be exempt the first five years. This regulation was carried out.[5]

The colony having increased, it became necessary in time to establish new parishes. It was then claimed that the tithes should belong to the parish priests, and their absolute establishment began to be discussed. These two points were settled by a royal edict of the month of May, 1679, five years after the erection of the Church of Quebec into an episcopal see.[6] The same edict also confirmed the provisional regulation of the superior council in regard to tithes; but it added, that if the tithes were not sufficient to support the parochial clergy, the council should provide therefor by a supplement, to be furnished by the settlers and seigneurs. This never took place, however, because the king chose to grant, from his own domain, the sum of seven thousand six hundred livres a year to aid in supporting the parochial clergy.[1]

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[1] Esquisse de la Vie, p. 32.

[2] The Seminary of the Foreign Missions is not mentioned. See Patent and Act of Establishment, Edits et Ordonnances, i., p. 34–6; Esquisse de la Vie, pp. 134, 131: Celebration du 200e Anniversarie de la Fondation du Séminaire de Quebec, 30 Avril, 1863; Quebec, 1863.

[3] Patent: Esquisse de la Vie, p. 134; Edits et Ordonnances, i., p. 36; De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amerique Septentrionale, i., p. 236.

[4] Mgr. Laval reduced it to one-twentieth, but, as this did not satisfy, allowed them to appeal to the king: Faillon, Histoire de la Colonie Française, iii., p. 72, and authorities cited.

[5] The regulation was made by Tracy, Courcelles, and Talon, with Bishop Laval, Sept. 4, 1667: Edits et Ordonnances, ii., p. 133; Faillon, Histoire de la Colonie Française, iii., p. 165.

[6] Edits et Ordonnances, i., p. 231.

Tithes.

Towards the end of the year 1683, another means was taken to satisfy the parochial clergy, to whom the last arrangement made by the council seemed insufficient. Mr. de la Barre, governor-general of New France, and Mgr. de St. Vallier, bishop elect of Quebec, wished to fix the suitable allowance[2] to be paid above the tithes at 500 livres; but the king, in a letter of April 10, 1684, addressed to the former, informed him that this regulation was not approved. "I have read," said his majesty, "the memoir which you have drawn up with the bishop of Quebec, on the distribution of parishes, and the maintenance of pastors, and I avow that the principle on which you have acted seems to me very prejudicial to the welfare of the colony. You fix the suitable allowance of a parish priest at 500 livres, and there are some even to whom you give more, in a country recently peopled by poor settlers. . . . You know that in France, where the same reasons do not exist, the highest allowances amount to only a hundred crowns, and that there is a very great number of parish priests who have only 150 livres, and yet manage to live and discharge their duties; and what is more vexatious on this point is, that the said bishop has so well persuaded the priests that they cannot live on less than 500 livres, that it will be difficult to reduce them to any other footing. Still, I wish those who have only 400 livres to accustom themselves to live on that."[3]

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[1] Edits et Ordonnances, i., p. 231.

[2] Portions congrues.

[3] This document is not given in the collection of the Edits et Ordonnances, and does not appear in the New York or Canada Documents.

1707. Tithes. The clergy, nevertheless, attempted at various times to raise the tithes back again to one-thirteenth; but the superior council of Quebec always opposed it, and as they finally appealed to the king's council, that appeal drew on them a decree of July 12, 1707, which exploded beyond hope their pretensions in the matter.[1]

On the other hand, besides the sum of 7,600 livres which the king had assigned them supplementary to the tithes,[2] his majesty also granted one of 2,000 livres for those whose advanced age or infirmities prevented from administering their parishes, and, by a decree of March 29th, 1717, it was ordered that this sum be divided in five portions of 300 livres, and one of 200.[3]

The patronage of the parishes vested in the Bishop. There are, finally, two sums of 1,350 livres each, one in favor of the parish priests, and the other for the erection of parochial churches, the patronage of which, by a decree of March 27, 1699,[4] was vested in the bishop, to the exclusion of the seigneurs, who had till then enjoyed it by virtue of a former decree of May, 1679.[5] The last act also required churches to be built of stone. All the sums paid by the king from his domain, for the purposes just mentioned, are at the disposal of the bishop. The chapter of the cathedral is composed of a dean, great chanter, great arch-deacon, theologian, and twelve canons. The king reserves to himself the nomination to the two first dignities, the bishop appoints all the rest.[6]

To return to the island of Montreal, and conclude all that regards the establishments in Canada for ecclesiastical and charitable purposes: the clergy of the Seminary

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[1] Edits et Ordonnances, i., p. 305.

[2] De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale, i., p. 236, says 8000.

[3] Edits et Ordonnances, p. 367.

[4] Arrêt du Conseil d'Etat du Roi qui accorde le Patronage des Eglises à Mgr. l'Evêque; Edits et Ordonnances, i., p. 279.

[5] Edits du Roi concernant les Dimes et Cures Fixes: Edits et Ordonnances, i., p. 231.

[6] De la Potherie (Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale, i., p. 235) says that in his time, for want of resources, there were only nine canons. He adds to the officers a great penitentiary.

1659.

Foundation of a hospital at Montreal.

of St. Sulpice were no sooner in possession of that fair domain than they thought of endowing it with a hospital, and they were so fortunate as to interest several persons in the pious design. Madame de Bullion gave 62,000 livres; Mr. de la Doversière, Lieutenant-general in Presidial of la Flêche, devoted to it a part of his property, and by his advice they selected, for the direction of the hospital, nuns of the Hotel-Dieu, in that city, whose institute has since been erected into a religious order by the Holy See. Mademoiselle Manse, already spoken of, received the hospital nuns at Montreal, and, as long as she lived, consented to manage the temporal affairs of their house, in which she was well supported by Mr. de Maisonneuve, who consented to continue to govern that little colony after the island changed its seigneur.[1]

A city began to grow up there, the foundation of which was marked by an establishment which now constitutes one of the fairest ornaments of New France. Montreal owes it to Margaret Bourgeoys, that holy woman who had several years before followed Mr. de Maisonneuve to Canada. With no other resource than her courage and her trust in God, she undertook to afford all the young per-

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[1] On the 7th of September, 1659, the St. André arrived (De Quen, Journal; M. Marie de l'Incarnation), bringing the Rev. Messrs. Le Maitre and Vignal, three hospital nuns (Mother de Brésoles, Sisters Macé and Maillet), 62 men, and 47 women, sent out to settle Montreal (Faillon, Histoire de la Colonie Française, ii., p. 353; Vie de Mlle. Mance, i., p. 147; Memoires de la Société Historique de Montreal, p. 123; Agrément du Roi sur l'établissement des Religieuses Hospitalières de Montréal (April, 1679); Edits et Ord., i., p. 66; Can. Doc., II., i., p. 360), with some other spontaneous settlers, amounting in all to 200 (M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Lettres Historiques, p. 544). Unfortunately a pestilential fever broke out on board, of which several died; and on its reaching Quebec, Father De Quen at once hastened to assist the sick, and fell a victim to charity, dying on the 8th of October. The disease spread, and infected the whole country. Notwithstanding this loss Montreal was placed on a far better footing; and had the directors of that post cordially co-operated with the older settlement, Canada would doubtless have benefited greatly; but unfortunately they did not harmonize. D'Argenson styles Montreal (Can. Doc., II., i., p. 359) "a place which makes so much noise and is so insignificant."

1659. Foundation of the Congregation Sisters.

sons of her sex, no matter how poor or destitute, an education which many girls, even of good families, do not secure in the best-ordered kingdoms. She succeeded to that degree, that you constantly behold, with renewed astonishment, women in the very depths of indigence and want perfectly instructed in their religion, ignorant of nothing that they should know to employ themselves usefully in their families, and who, by their manners, their manner of expressing themselves, and their politeness, are not inferior to the most carefully educated among us. This is the just meed of praise rendered to the Sisters of the Congregation by all who have made any stay in Canada.[1]

It would seem that at a later date there was an idea of making them cloistered nuns; for, in 1709, they were forbidden to cloister themselves or take vows. They replied that they had never entertained the intention of shutting themselves up, a cloister life being absolutely incompatible with their institute; that for the same reason they did not ask to take solemn vows, that their only wish was to be permitted to take simple vows; but as it was believed that these vows would perhaps, in time, lead them to adopt the cloister, which would render them far less useful to the colony, the council refused its consent.[2]

The Ursulines at Quebec also contributed greatly, on their side, to give young persons of their sex a suitable education; but out of the precincts of that capital, few girls are enabled to frequent their schools, and the poverty of the country prevents their keeping a large number of boarders. At the time of their establishment in New France, it was proposed to confide to them the education of Indian girls; but the result did not meet the expectations that had been conceived, and many reasons induced them to abandon the project. The chief reasons are, that these nuns were not in a position to meet the expense necessary to carry out the project, and that the Indians themselves will not easily renounce the pleasure of having their children with them. Moreover, when these children leave the convent and are thrown in the midst of a savage tribe, exposed to all the contagion of intercourse with heathens, blood and nature soon resume their influence, and nothing remains of the good education bestowed upon them except greater breadth of mind and information, which become pernicious by their too frequent abuse.[1]

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[1] See note 3, ante, vol. ii., p. 250. Vie de Marguerite Bourgeoys, 12mo, Montreal, 1818; Faillon, Vie de la Sœur Bourgeoys, 2 vols. 8vo., Paris, 1852; Histoire de la Colonie Franç., ii., p. 174.

[2] Edits et Ordonnances, ii., p. 268.

They should have confined their labors to the daughters of Indian Christians domiciled in the colony. But these least required this kind of aid, and experience showed that it was better to leave them in their simplicity and ignorance—that the Indians could be good Christians, without adopting any of our politeness and mode of life; or at least leave it to time to draw them from their rudeness, which does not prevent their living in great innocence, having great modesty, and serving God with a piety and fervor which render them most fit for the sublimest operations of grace.

Discovery of many northern nations.

Meanwhile the bishop of Petræa had scarcely assumed the government of his church, before he learned that many nations had been discovered on the north and west of Lake Huron. He at once thought of means to diffuse over them the light of the gospel. He consulted Father Lallemant, who had just been for the second time appointed Superior-General of the missions, and with him he adopted suitable measures to carry out the project.[2] A re-enforcement of missionaries was at once sent to the Abénaqui nations, which insensibly all became Christians; but their wandering life prevented the progress of the gospel from being

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[1] For the Ursuline labors, and especially their Indian seminary at this time, consult Les Ursulines de Quebec, i., p. 209.

[2] Relation de la N. F., 1658, p. 20, 1659, p. 5; La Tour, Vie de Mgr. de Laval, p. 64; Esquisse de la Vie, p. 59.

1659. as rapid among them as had been expected from their docility.[1]

Conversion of some Eskimaux.

The tribes nearest to the Gulf of St. Lawrence were always at war with the Eskimaux, and often brought in captives as slaves, some of whom the missionaries were so happy as to convert. Bondage and distance from their own land somewhat modified the manners of these Indians, as fierce as the wolves and bears with which their fearful deserts teem: without law, without principles, without society, differing from those brutes only, one might say, by their human figure, they became mild and reasonable as soon as they beheld themselves among men who made use of their reason. In the small number of those who were then gained to Christ, there was one woman whose conversion was attended with circumstances which made a great impression on her countrymen, and still more on a Protestant. While they were instructing this woman in the rudiments of the faith, she seemed to be possessed by the devil. To ascertain the nature of her malady, many remedies were tried, but all proved useless. They then had recourse to holy water, which cured her perfectly; she then solicited baptism, and the ceremony was followed by the abjuration of a Calvinist, who could not resist so evident a miracle.[2]

Various discoveries.

The next year an Algonquin,[3] who had spent two whole years in travelling in the north, found in the neighborhood of Hudson's Bay a number of his countrymen, whom fear of the Iroquois had forced to seek an asylum there. He also found there natives of the country well disposed to join the French in repressing the pride of that nation, which had made all others its foes, and began to approach

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[1] The Relation for 1659 enters into details on the Micmac mission at Cape Breton, then directed by Father Andrew Richard, Martin Lionne, and James Fremin (p. 7), but is silent as to any mission among the Abénaquis proper.

[2] Relation de la N. F., 1659, p. 9.

[3] A8atanik, a Nipissing: Relation de la N. F., 1660, p. 9. He started from Green Bay in June, 1658, and proceeded by way of Lake Superior to Hudson's Bay, and then descended to the Saguenay.

1659.

them. They even made the Algonquin the bearer of presents to the governor-general; and that Indian who had penetrated to Hudson's Bay from Lake Superior, returned by the way of the Saguenay.[1]

At the same time two Frenchmen, after wintering on the banks of Lake Superior with a large number of Algonquin families, led by curiosity to penetrate still further west, advanced to the Sioux. On their way, they came upon quite a considerable town of Tionontates Hurons,[2] from whom they learned some very curious facts. Only such as are necessary for the thread of the history will be noted.

What passes between the Sioux and the Hurons.

The Sioux[3] till then not only had no knowledge of the French, but were very little known by the Huron and Algonquin nations, with whom we had intercourse; at least to judge by the account of the two Frenchmen, who said that their manners seemed very strange and very ridiculous to the Tionontates and the Ottawas, when these took refuge among them.

They added that the Hurons and Ottawas even insulted the Sioux on several occasions, relying on their firearms,

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[1] Relation de la N. F., 1660, p. 12. He found Algonquin nations on the bay, but none of his own tribe.

[2] Six days' journey southwest of Lake Superior (Relation de la N. F., 1660, pp. 12, 27), apparently on Black River. See Perrot, Mœurs et Coutumes, p. 87.

[3] The Sioux, now technically called Dacotas, were styled by the Algonquins Nadȣechiȣec, the first part of the name being the same, Nadȣe (Nottoway), which they gave to the Iroquois. The next part Chiȣ (Sioux), became their common designation among the French: Charlevoix, Journal, p. 183. The Winnebagoes, whose own name is Otchagra, the former title being Algonquin, meaning Men from the Salt Water, belong to the same family as did the Missouris, Osages, Iowas, and Quappas. The last of these were called by the Illinois and other Algonquins Arkansas, or Alkansas; and are said by Gravier (Journal d'un Voyage depuis le pays des Illinois en 1700, p. 10) to have at one time resided on the Ohio. They are, perhaps, the Talligeu, Talligewi, or Allegewi of Heckewelder, who are represented by the Algonquins of Pennsylvania as having been driven down the Ohio to the Lower Mississippi: Heckewelder, Historical Account, p. 29. This would bring almost all the known mounds in limits occupied by Dacota tribes. For the language, see Riggs' Dakota Dictionary.

1659. Sioux and Hurons.

the use of which was still unknown to their hosts; that they killed some; but that at last, rage and numbers compensating for the advantages which rendered the Hurons and Ottawas so insolent, the Sioux massacred several.[1]

One day, among others, having drawn several Hurons into a kind of lake or marsh, all covered with wild rice, they caught them, with their canoes, in nets which the Hurons did not perceive; after which they poured in upon them such a shower of arrows, that not a man escaped. The rest at last thought it advisable to draw off from a nation with whom they could no longer hope for a reconciliation; and they accordingly proceeded to settle southeast of the western point of Lake Superior, where our two voyageurs found them.[2]

Peculiarities of the Sioux.

Passing thence among the Sioux, they observed some women with their noses cut off, and a part of the head scalped. On asking the reason, they were told that it was the penalty inflicted on women for adultery. This seemed to them very rigorous, because polygamy is tolerated among this people.[3] The Sioux nation was then very numerous, and divided into forty towns,[4] all large and populous; and as these towns often change place, the Sioux country was of immense extent.[5] Two Jesuits who, in 1687 and 1689,[6] made some excursions among them, spoke of them as a very powerful people; and one of them, Father Joseph Marest, often expressed to me his great regret that he was not enabled to take up his residence among those Indians, whom he found docile and reasonable. He added that the Sioux did not wreak on their

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[1] Perrot: Mœurs et Coustumes des Sauvages, p. 87.

[2] Perrot, Mœurs et Coustumes des Sauvages, p. 88; De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale, ii., p. 217. One Huron, called Le Froid, escaped.

[3] Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1660, p. 13.

[4] The Relation for 1660, p. 13, says forty towns, five containing each 5000 men.

[5] Hennepin was a prisoner among the Sioux in 1679–80, and gives the earliest details: Description de la Louisiane, Paris, 1683, pp. 206–285.

[6] Fathers Joseph Marest and Ignatius Guignas.

1660.

prisoners those horrors which disgrace most of the other nations on this continent, and that they have a very clear knowledge of the one sole God.

I have elsewhere mentioned the pretence set up that these Sioux have a Chinese accent. This has not been yet substantiated, but in mode of life they greatly resemble the Tartars.[1] Few Frenchmen have learned their language, which would, nevertheless, be of great advantage in exploring all northwest of the Micissipi; and every thing leads us to believe that useful discoveries would be made there, especially in regard to the South Sea,[2] from which it is almost certain that they are not extremely distant.[3]

Extremity to which Canada is reduced.

Meanwhile no relief came from France,[4] and the colony of Canada maintained itself only by a kind of miracle. Men durst not leave the neighborhood of the forts without an escort; and in many places there was no apparent means of gathering the harvest, the season for which approached.[5] Many believed that they would at last have to abandon every thing, and some began to take measures for recrossing the ocean. Seven hundred Iroquois, who had just defeated a large French and Indian party,[6] held Quebec in a kind of blockade, the Ursulines and Hospi-

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[1] The affinity of the Dakota and Tartar, alluded to in Charlevoix's Journal, pp. 183–4, has been recognized even by modern philologists.

[2] The Pacific Ocean.

[3] Relation de la N. F., 1660, p. 5.

[4] On the 31st May, 1660, Mr. D'Ailleboust died at Montreal: Lalemant, Journal; Belmont, p. 11.

[5] On the 5th June a woman, with several of her family, was carried off before Quebec; but the captors, renegade Hurons, were pursued, defeated, and taken: Relation de la N. F., 1660, p. 31; Lalemant, Journal.

[6] This was the famous action at Long Sault: Dollier de Casson, Histoire de Montreal; Relation de la N. F., 1660, p. 14; M. Marie de l'Incarnation, p. 261; Father Lalemant, Journal, June 8, 1660. The French numbered 17, commanded by Adam Dollard, Sieur des Ormeaux, a young officer, aged 25. He took the field in April, and on the 19th defeated an Iroquois party, apparently on St. Paul's Island. After returning to Montreal he again set out, and took post in a little Indian fort at the foot of the Long Rapid on the Ottawa. Here he was joined by 39 Hurons under Anahotaha, and Mitiwemeg with three Algonquins. The Iroquois soon approached, and Dollard routed the van, but was invested by the whole force of 300

1660. tal nuns were forced to leave their convents by night, no longer deeming themselves secure,[1] and by the close of autumn, when those savages were supposed to have retired homeward, tidings came that they still kept the field, which spread consternation on all sides.[2]

A Huron, who escaped from their hands, confirmed this intelligence, and added that it had been their design to draw out a missionary to a conference, and seize him to serve as an exchange; that when they had in this way liberated all their own people who were prisoners in our hands, they would no longer observe any bounds; that they proposed especially to carry off a great number of children to repeople their country; but that an accident had befallen them, which doubtless had induced them to march back—one of the Iroquois, aiming at a stag, fired upon and killed the chief of the party.[3]

They did not, in fact, make their appearance again all

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men. They attacked him repeatedly, but were always repulsed with loss. They then sent to another army of 500. Meanwhile the French, suffering from thirst, were deserted by the 39 Hurons, who revealed their weakness to the Iroquois. Still, Dollard held out against the two Iroquois armies, who at last attempted to storm their fort, regardless of the loss of life. To check them, Dollard made a kind of torpedo, and threw it over; but it caught on a branch and fell inside the fort, killing and wounding some of his own men. Then the place was carried, and the whole party were killed, fighting to the last. The Iroquois are said by Mr. de Belmont (Histoire du Canada, p. 11), on the report of one of their nation, to have lost one-third of their force. This glorious action (May 21, 1660) so disconcerted the Iroquois, that they abandoned their design of attacking Three Rivers and Quebec, and capturing the Governor-General: M. Marie de l'Incarn., Lettres Hist., p. 254; Lalemant, Journal, May 15, 1660; Belmont, Hist. du Canada, p. 11; Hist. de la Col. Fran., ii., pp. 397–419; Can. Doc., II., i., pp. 358, 417.

[1] Lalemant, Journal, May 19, 1660; M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Lettres Historiques, p. 256. She remained in her convent with three nuns: Les Ursulines de Quebec, i., p. 236; Juchereau, Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu de Quebec, i., p. 236.

[2] M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Lettre Nov. 2, 1660. They sought to deliver some Cayugas seized by Maisonneuve: Rel., 1660, p. 37; Lalemant, Journal, Aug. 4, 1660.

[3] M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Lettre Nov. 2, 1660. These hostile movements had prevented the people from gathering in their crops, and the Governor announced that they would need breadstuffs from France. A vessel sailed to France for flour, July 7: Lalemant Journal.

1661.

Iroquois hostilities.

the rest of that year, but towards the close of winter, parties appeared in various parts of the colony and committed great ravages.[1] Mr. le Maître, an ecclesiastic of the Seminary of Montreal, was killed while returning from saying Mass in the country.[2] Mr. de Lauson, Seneschal of New France, and son of the last governor-general, going to Isle Orleans to relieve his brother-in-law,[3] who was invested in his own house, fell into an ambuscade. The Iroquois, who knew him, and who passionately desired to have a prisoner of such rank, spared him for a time, seeking only to exhaust his strength; but seeing him kill several of their people, they fired on him, and he fell dead before any one durst approach him.[4]

Many other persons of note, and a great many settlers and Indians, met the same fate. Thirty Attikamegues, who were accompanied by some Frenchmen, were attacked by eighty Iroquois, and defended themselves with a valor that might have saved them had they fought with more order; even the women fought to the death, and not one of them surrendered.[5] In a word, from Montreal to Tadoussac naught could be seen but bloody traces of the passage of these fierce enemies.[6]

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[1] Relation de la N. F., 1661, p. 3; M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Lettre Sept., 1661.

[2] Mr. James Lemaitre, born in Normandy in 1617, was one of the members admitted into his congregation by Mr. Olier himself. He earnestly desired to go to Montreal with the first clergymen sent, but was not chosen till 1659. He arrived Sept. 7, 1659, in a ship which suffered greatly from tempests and disease. He had said Mass in Montreal, Aug. 29, 1661, and had gone to St. Gabriel to superintend some men at work, being steward of the house, when they were attacked by a party under Outreouati. He was shot while endeavoring to cover the flight of his men: Relation de la N. F., 1661, p. 5; Dollier de Casson, Histoire de Montreal, 1660–1; Belmont, Hist. du Canada, p. 11; Faillon, Histoire de la Colonie Française, ii., pp. 355–6, 441–469; Vie de M. Olier, ii., p. 443; Vie de M. Bourgeoys, i., p. 90; M. Marie de l'Incarnation, ii., p. 562; De la Tour, Mem. de Mr. Laval, p. 133.

[3] Mr. Couillard de L'Espinay, his brother-in-law, was supposed so to be.

[4] Relation de la N. F., 1661, p. 5; Juchereau, Hist. de l'Hotel-Dieu, pp. 127, 8.

[5] Relation de la N. F., 1661, p. 3; Can. Doc., II., i., p. 386.

[6] Relation de la N. F., 1661, p. 3.

1661. To this terrible scourge Heaven added another, which completed the reduction of the colony to the last extremity.

Disease. Phenomena

The French and domiciliated Indians were attacked by a disease from which no one was exempt, and which was especially fatal to children. It was a kind of hooping-cough, which turned to a pleurisy. People imagined that there was witchcraft in it, and the physicians were the first to spread this opinion. When the popular mind is once struck, their imagination carries them pretty far, and at certain times all are swayed by public opinion. It was afterwards published that a fiery crown had been seen in the air; that piteous voices had been heard at Three Rivers; that a fiery canoe had appeared near Quebec, and at another place a man, all on fire, and surrounded by a whirlwind of flames; that on Isle Orleans a woman had heard her unborn child sobbing: and all this was followed by the apparition of a comet, which completed the terror of the masses, to whom this phenomenon is never a matter of indifference, especially in times of calamity.[1]

Good news from the Iroquois country.

Yet amid these alarms, and in the very height of the storm, calm suddenly appeared. Prisoners escaping from the Iroquois towns, brought tidings that there were a score of Frenchmen at Onondaga whose lives had been spared, and who enjoyed quite a degree of liberty; that in the same canton a cabin had been transformed into a chapel, where a great many Christians, French, Hurons, Iroquois, and Algonquins, met regularly to perform their devotions;[2] that the matrons, who are the important body in the State,[3] had had no share in the plot which had forced Mr. Dupuys to retire, and that they had for a whole week mourned with their children over the departure of the missionaries; in conclusion, that in the cantons of Cayuga and Oneida, there were Christians who inviolably preserved the faith.[4]

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[1] Relation de la N. F., 1661, p. 2.

[2] Ib., pp. 8, 37.

[3] As to the matrons and their influence, see Lafitau, Mœurs des Sauvages, i., pp. 76, 474; Rel., 1671, p. 6.

[4] Chaumonot, Autobiog., p. 72.

1661.

Iroquois deputies at Montreal.

A short time after, the enemy's war-parties vanished almost entirely, and towards the month of July two canoes were descried, from Montreal, advancing with a flag of truce. They were allowed to approach, and men beheld the Iroquois land with as much assurance as the most faithful allies could display. They were deputies from the cantons of Onondaga and Cayuga, and one of them was the most renowned chief of the latter canton, an old host of Father Mesnard, and at all times the most avowed friend of the French. They brought back four Frenchmen, whom they proposed to exchange for eight Cayugas, held as prisoners at Montreal, and they even promised to give up all the other Frenchmen whom they controlled, if we would surrender all the braves of the two cantons whom we had in our hands.[1]

They also handed to Mr. de Maisonneuve a letter signed by all the French captives in the same cantons. It stated that they were treated quite well, and that all minds seemed inclined to peace; but that if the authorities refused to listen to the two deputies, all the French in the country would be pitilessly burnt at the stake on their return. The governor replied to the deputies that he would write to Viscount d'Argenson, to whom alone it belonged to accept or reject such propositions, and that while awaiting his orders they might remain in the fort, where they should enjoy complete liberty.[2]

At first, Viscount d'Argenson seemed little disposed to enter into negotiations; but considering that, in the condition in which the colony was, a patched-up peace, provided they kept on their guard, was better than the prolongation of a war which they were not in a condition to maintain, he changed his mind. A drowning man will grasp at a twig that he knows will break in his hands, if

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[1] Their wampum belts are explained at length in Relation de la N. F., 1661, pp. 7, 8

[2] Relation de la N. F., 1661, p. 8; Juchereau, Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu de Quebec, pp. 131–4.

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Father Le Moyne consents to accompany them home.

he finds no other. The greatest difficulty was to grant a missionary to the two cantons, who proposed peace only on this condition.[1] The viscount sounded Father le Moyne, who unhesitatingly replied that he was ready to start. This was the fifth time that this religious had sacrificed himself on such occasions: he embraced this one eagerly, believing it beyond all fail that he would lay down his life for the cause of God and the safety of the colony.[2]

Baron d'Avaugour relieves the Viscount d'Argenson

In the midst of all this, Baron d'Avaugour arrived from France[3] to relieve Viscount d'Argenson, who had been impelled to solicit a recall by ill health,[4] the slight support he received from the New France Company, and some private troubles incessantly excited against him by ill-minded men.[5] The new governor was amazed to see himself put in charge of a colony so gone to wreck. He began by visiting all the posts, and, after that visit, he said that he was charmed with Canada; that its value was not understood in France; but that he could not conceive how his predecessors had held their ground as they really did, with so little resources; that he would lay it all before the king, and that if the troops and supplies that had been promised him were not sent at once, he would not wait for the appointment of a successor before returning to France. This general was a resolute and highly upright man; but he prided himself too much on these qualities, and could not adapt himself to circumstances. He had campaigned in Hungary with great distinction; but in Canada he had less opportunity to display his good qualities than occasion to show his defects, and in the brief period of his rule in the colony, they subjected him to many annoyances.[1]

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[1] Relation de la N. F., 1661, p. 9; M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Lettre Oct., 1661; Bishop Laval, Report to the Propaganda, Oct. 21, 1661, in Faillon, Hist. de la Colonie, ii., 452.

[2] Relation de la N. F., 1661, p. 9, says nothing of D'Argenson's action. The news of the coming of the ambassadors arrived June 29; and July 2, Fathers Chaumonot and Le Moyne went up to Montreal—the former to represent the Governor, the latter to go to Onondaga, and he in fact set out from Montreal on the 21st: Lalemant, Journal; Relation de la N. F., p. 31.

[3] Aug. 31, 1661: Lalemant, Journal; Relation de la N. F., 1661, p. 10.

[4] Dollier de Casson, Histoire de Montreal. He sailed to France Sept. 19, 1661 (Lalemant, Journal), and the new Governor then took command. D'Argenson's commission bore date Jan. 26, 1657: Memoires sur les Possessions en Amérique, iii., p. 422; Edits et Ordonnances, iii., p. 20. His term of three years began with his arrival at Quebec, July 11, 1658.

[5] Lettres de Marie de l'Incarnation, Oct., 1661.

Northward journey of the missionaries.

Father le Moyne had set out when the Baron d'Avaugour reached Quebec; and while that missionary was on his way to endeavor to reconcile the Iroquois and the French, Fathers Dreuillettes and Dablon were endeavoring to penetrate to the Northern Ocean, by ascending the Saguenay.[2] Early in July, two months after they set out, they found themselves at the head-waters of the Nekouba river,[3] which empties into Lake St. Jean, and there experienced excessive heat, which they ascribed in part to the altitude of the land, having, according to their account, ascended constantly for a hundred leagues.[4]

Description of Lake St. John.

Lake St. Jean is the real source of the Saguenay, and of several other rivers; it is twenty leagues in circumference, and oval in form. The many isles that stud its bosom make most agreeable points in the landscape, and its shores are lined with noble trees; but this part would not perhaps be found so charming, if you were not compelled, before reaching it, to traverse the most fearful deserts. This is a reflection that travellers should make, and which would often save them from exaggerations which affect their credit.[5]

Father Dablon mentions, in his journal, a very singular disease, but which they assured him was quite common in these northern countries. A person suddenly becomes a

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[1] For some of his petty troubles, see Canada Doc., II., i., pp. 375–398.

[2] Lalemant, Journal, May 11; Rel. de la N. F., 1661, p. 13. They went to establish the mission of St. Francis Xavier of the Kiristinons (Crees).

[3] Nekouba was the place where a kind of fair was held. Dablon gives it as 49° 20′ N., 305° 10′ W.: Relation de la N. F., 1661, p. 17.

[4] The Rel. for 1661, p. 17, says 80.

[5] Relation de la N. F., 1661, p. 14.

1660. lunatic and hypochondriac, his disease soon degenerating into mania. In this condition the patient is seized with such a rabid hunger for human flesh, that he springs like a famished wolf on all he meets. In proportion as he finds wherewith to glut this hunger, it grows like thirst in dropsy; and, accordingly, they never fail to kill at once any one seized with this disease.[1]

Extraordinary malady.

The source of the Nekouba river was then a place of trade, which gathered almost all the northern nations. Yet it was so wretched a land, that it was said, as a byword, that the very mosquitoes could not find a living there. At this place the missionaries found a very great number of Indians expecting them, and among them Christians and proselytes. These they instructed, administering the sacraments.[2] To the heathen they announced the kingdom of God, and baptized some. They could not proceed any further, being warned of the approach of the Iroquois, and of their quite recent destruction of a nation known as the Squirrel Tribe.[3]

Another missionary, Father Bailloquet, who had descended the St. Lawrence from Tadoussac to the entrance of the gulf, was still more fortunate. He visited seven or eight towns,[4] constituting as many different tribes, all of the Algonquin language. He everywhere found Indians who, to become good Christians, needed only instruction: he baptized several, and especially a number of dying children, and left a harvest well prepared, which he trusted to gather in the ensuing year. These nations now scarcely subsist, and it is not easy to say what became of them.[5]

As autumn approached, letters from Father le Moyne,

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[1] Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1661, p. 15.

[2] Ib., p. 17.

[3] Ib., p. 21.

[4] Papinachois, Bersiamites, Nation des Monts Pelez, Oumamiouek, etc.: Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1661, p. 29; Lalemant, Journal, Oct. 24, 1661.

[5] Ib. The whole number of Indians, of all tribes, on the Labrador peninsula is now estimated at less than 4,000: Hind's Explorations in Labrador, ii., p. 117.

1661.

dated at Onondaga, reached Quebec.[1] That missionary had, on his way, run many dangers from the Mohawks, Oneidas, and Senecas, who had not taken part in the deputation of the other two cantons.[2] He at last, without any untoward accident, arrived within two leagues of Onondaga,[3] and there found the great chief of that canton, named Garakonthié,[4] who awaited him with a numerous retinue to do him honor. He was the more surprised at this, as it is not the custom among the Indians to go more than a quarter of a league to meet deputies; but his astonishment ceased when he knew well the chief who paid him this compliment.

Reception given to Father le Moyne at Onondaga.

Garakonthié was Indian only in birth and education; and with all the good qualities that it is impossible not to recognize in his nation, he had an excellent disposition, great mildness, a superior intellect, and great uprightness. His exploits in war,[5] and his dexterity in swaying minds in council, had acquired for him great influence in his nation; and it was his most ordinary employment to use it in all cases to prevent violent measures, and to bring about peace with the French, whom he loved sincerely. He had given strong proofs of this feeling, by rescuing from the hands of the Mohawks a great many of the French; and all who were at the time prisoners in his canton, or in the others, owed their lives to him.

Character of Garakonthié.

By a refinement of policy, which surprises us in an In-

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[1] Letters Aug. 25 and Sept. 11, 1661, dated from the Onnontaghé Chapel: Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1661, p. 31.

[2] Senecas are not mentioned: Ib., p. 32.

[3] They landed first at Otiatanhegué.

[4] Garakonthié (The Sun who Walks) was apparently an orator, not a sachem, and not a war-chief exerting a personal influence, as Red Jacket did. He is not mentioned in connection with the settlement of St. Mary of Ganentaha by any of the writers at that time, and it is absolutely contrary to all authority to make him the projector of that movement. He probably, with true Indian caution, watched the French and their missionaries, and at last came to the conclusion that guided all his subsequent conduct, that the true policy for the Indians was to adopt the civilization of the French.

[5] I find no authority for this.

1661. dian, he did not wish to lead Father le Moyne to his own cabin till he had conducted him to the lodges of all the chiefs whom he supposed he might need for the project which he had formed. He wished all to regard the peace for which he was laboring as their own work, convinced that if he appeared to make it his own affair, some would oppose it from jealousy.[1] This deference gained them all to such a point, that he obtained from them much more than he dared to expect. On the 12th of August, at the sound of a bell which had remained at the spot where the Jesuit chapel had stood, deputies assembled in his cabin from Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca. Father le Moyne was invited, and after pronouncing aloud a short prayer in Iroquois, he declared that he was sent by OnontAhio, whose intentions he was about to explain.[2] He then set his presents in the midst of the assembly, and spoke thus:

Refined policy of this Indian chief.

Address of Father le Moyne in a Council of three cantons.

"To you, Onondaga, I address my words. The Cayuga, your son,[3] came to tell me that he was deputed on your behalf to reunite the whole nation to me. Did you send him?" He was told that the Cayuga had spoken truly. He gave a present, and continued: "He added, that if I set free all the Iroquois detained in my prisons, you would restore to me all the French whom you hold as captives. Did you authorize him to say so?" "The Cayuga," they answered, "had orders to speak so; he will not be disavowed." He gave a second present, and resumed his speech. "You have also declared to me that you besought to hide so deep in the earth the bones of the Iroquois fallen in the war, that none would hereafter think of avenging them, and that you desired the same to be done with the French. Do you make this proposition in earnest?" Being assured that nothing could be more sincere, he gave a third present, and added: "And, Seneca, is it true, as you recently imparted to me, that you wish to be comprised in the treaty of peace, and desire to have Frenchmen settle in your country?" A chief replied that his canton had really given that order. The Father gave him a belt, and closed, saying: "The Mohawk has always had an ill-disposed mind. I know that he sends presents underhand to induce the others to maintain the war. I have nothing to say to him, except that he will find some one to speak to." The missionary then, laying aside his character of envoy from the governor-general, turned his address to religion, and was listened to with pleasure.[1]

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[1] Relation de la N. F., 1661, p. 32.

[2] Ib.

[3] The canton of Onondaga is, as it were, the head of all the others, and accordingly styles them sons.—*Charlevoix.*

Resolution of this Council.

They reassembled some days after, and the Iroquois spokesman declared, 1st. That they would send back to Ononthio nine Frenchmen, and if the rest were retained during the winter, it was only to keep company with Ondesson (Father le Moyne); 2d. That Garakonthié was appointed chief of the embassy, and that he would deliver the nine Frenchmen to Ononthio. The missionary seemed surprised at this resolution, and represented that they had promised to set all the French at liberty. He was answered that this could not be, and he did not deem it wise to insist any further, convinced that it would be useless. Moreover, the prisoners were as well treated as could be desired.[2]

Eulogium on the Sieur Hertel.

This was not the case with those retained in fetters by the Mohawks: they had much to suffer, and could not feel sure of a day's life. Among them was one young man of very good family, Francis Hertel by name,[3] who sanctified his captivity by a great innocence, perfect resignation to the orders of Heaven and practices of piety, which inspired the respect even of his enemies. He had a finger burned and a thumb cut off, suffering these cruel operations with

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[1] Relation de la N. F., 1661, p. 33.

[2] Ib.

[3] Francis Hertel was son of James Hertel, interpreter, a native of Fécamp in Normandy, and of Mary Marguerie, sister of the interpreter Francis Marguerie: Ferland, Cours d'Histoire, p. 472. He returned to Canada by way of New York and Port Royal (N.Y. Col. Doc., iii., p. 132), became a great partisan officer, and was ennobled in 1691: Ib., ix., p. 554.

1661. unshaken patience. I saw him in 1721, at the age of eighty, full of health and strength, the whole colony bearing testimony to his virtue and merit. The sequel of this history will show that I could not pass over in silence the honor which he did to the Christian religion, amid its greatest enemies. But to return to the Iroquois embassy.

Garakonthié reaches Montreal.

Garakonthié embarked about the middle of September, and a few days after, he met a band of warriors of his canton led by Outreouhati, a chief of reputation. This captain having been in irons at Montreal, had just avenged himself. He was loaded with scalps and spoils, and especially paraded the soutane of Mr. le Maitre.[1] At this spectacle Garakonthié seemed embarrassed. His people advised him to turn back, unable to believe that after what had happened they would be received as ambassadors; but, all things considered, it was resolved to continue their course: he assured his people that there was no fear for them, as long as Frenchmen were left in their canton, and that consideration for Father le Moyne alone would prove their safeguard.[2]

Reception given him.

At the end of some days, meeting an Oneida party, he asked their destination, and being told that they wished to eat some Frenchmen, he gave them presents, and induced them to return.[3] He finally reached the island of Montreal.[4] He was there received in a manner merited by the services which he had rendered to the French prisoners in his country, and the exertions which he had made to establish peace. He had private interviews with the governor-general, in which he displayed great wisdom and

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[1] Le Moyne met Orreouati or Outreouhati at Otiatanhégué, going out to take vengeance on the French for having put him in irons: Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1661, pp. 31, 6; Belmont, p. 11. An Outreouati, nicknamed by the French Grande Gueule, the Grangula of La Hontan, appears subsequently in the time of De la Barre: Colden, 1727, p. 80. The actual murderer of Le Maitre, Hoandoran, became a Christian, and died at the Sulpitian Mission at Montreal: De Belmont, MS. cited by Faillon, ii., p. 443.

[2] Relation de la N. F., 1661, p. 36.

[3] Ib., p. 37.

[4] Oct. 5, 1661: Relation, 1661, p. 37.

1661. ability. He accepted all the propositions made to him, and promised to return towards the close of spring with the rest of the French prisoners; and so completely did they deem it safe to rely on his word, that they restored to him all the Iroquois whom he asked: but they did not reflect sufficiently that, in a government such as that of the Indians, it is not always wise to rely on the words of a single chief, however accredited he may be, or individually upright.[1]

Peace seems to recede. 1662.

It is true that the hope of a speedy peace, much more durable than any hitherto negotiated with the Iroquois, was not based solely on the credit and good intentions of Garakonthié. The Upper Cantons were supposed to be in a condition to regard it as necessary, because the Andastes had attacked and were repressing them vigorously.

On the other hand, war was raging furiously between the Mohawks and the Mohegans, who had been joined by the Abénaqui nations;[2] but ere long positive intelligence came, showing that the Iroquois were not either so much embarrassed as was said, nor as much inclined to peace as they had flattered themselves.

Death of Rev. Mr. Vignol.

They learned that the Upper Cantons, after repulsing the Andastes, had made excursions as far as Virginia, whence several struck far into the west. These, on their return, declared that they had advanced to the sea, and had seen people of the same religion as the French, which leads to the conjecture that they had penetrated to New Mexico and the Gulf of California, commonly called in French, *la Mer Vermeille*.[3] It would seem, also, that the Mohawks soon made peace with the Mohegans; inasmuch as they, with the Oneidas, continued their war-parties, and approached Montreal, where they killed an ecclesiastic named Vignol.[4]

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[1] Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1661, p. 38.

[2] Ib., p. 39.

[3] Rel., 1662, p. 2. The Spaniards called it Mar Bermejo (Red Sea), from its shape.

[4] Rev. William Vignal came to Canada in July, 1641, and was first

1662. Death of Lambert Closse.

At last, two hundred Onondagas overran a good part of the colony, and in broad day attacked several settlers on the island of Montreal, while working in the fields. The major of the city sallied out with twenty-six men, well armed, to cover their retreat; but having struck to the woods to conceal his march from the enemy, he suddenly found himself between two fires. He fought all day long like a brave man, and was well supported by his men, till, overwhelmed by numbers, he perished with all his party.[1]

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employed at and near Cape Breton. From 1648 to 1657 he was chaplain to the Ursulines of Quebec. When the Abbé Queylus was at Quebec, Mr. Vignal was won by him, and going to France in 1658 became a Sulpitian. He came out again in 1659 with Mr. Le Maitre. On the 25th of Oct., 1661, he went with some workmen to Ile-à-la Pierre (erroneously called Ile St. Pierre on the map in volume ii.), a little island in front of Montreal, now a mere rock, to get stone, but fell into a party of Oneidas and Mohawks, in ambush, and was mortally wounded. After two days' march he was killed and eaten, not far from La Prairie: Rel. de la N. F., 1362, p. 5; Brigeac's Letter, Ib., p. 9, 1665, p. 20; Belmont, Hist., p. 11; Lalemant, Journal, Nov. 12, 1662; M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Lettres Historiques, p. 569; Faillon, Histoire de la Colonie, ii., p. 504; Viger, Histoire de La Prairie, p. 6.

[1] Raphael Lambert Closse was the great Indian fighter of early Canadian annals. He was born at St. Denis de Mourgues, diocese of Treves, and came out with M. Maisonneuve. He seems to have been appointed at once sergeant-major of the garrison, and to have been in constant service. He did not take up lands till 1650, when he expressly renounced all claim for previous services. In 1655 he received authority to act as governor of the city in the absence of Mr. de Maisonneuve. On the 24th July, 1657, he married Elizabeth Moyen, a girl of fourteen, who, after seeing her parents (John Moyen, Sieur des Granges, and her mother, Elizabeth le Brest) massacred by the Iroquois at Ile aux Oies on Corpus Christi, 1655 (M. Marie de l'Incarn., Oct. 12, 1655), had, with her sister, been carried off a captive. Restored the same year, she was received at the Hotel-Dieu by Mlle. Mance: Faillon, ii., pp. 232, 239. On the 2d of February following, a fief of one hundred acres was conferred upon him in reward of his services. He was remarkably skilful in the use of the musket and pistol, and took readily to Indian fighting. His exploits against the Indians were numerous, but the most memorable were those of July 26, 1651, and Oct. 14, 1652. He enjoyed the universal esteem of all parties in the colony: Faillon, Histoire de la Colonie Française, ii., pp. 103, 126, 143, 147, 151, 387, 513; Dollier de Caisson; M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Lettre August 10, 1662; Juchereau, Histoire de l'Hotel-Dieu de Quebec, pp. 38, 9; Creuxius, Hist. Can., p. 663; Relation de la N. F., 1653, p. 3; 1662, pp. 4, 5. Charlevoix was misled by the last authority, which alludes, in speaking of the fight with 26 men, to a previous

Adventures of Father Mesnard.

Nothing but disheartening tidings came from all directions, and at the same time sad intelligence came concerning Father Mesnard, who had been granted, with a somewhat excessive facility, in the month of August, 1660, to a second band of Ottawas, who had come down from the shores of Lake Superior.

Notwithstanding the earnestness displayed by these Indians to obtain this missionary, he soon perceived that he had little to hope from their disposition to embrace the faith. They not only forced him to row during the whole voyage, so that he was compelled to take from his hours of sleep time to say his office, but they even carried their brutality so far as to throw his breviary into the water. Moreover, their provisions ran out, as it almost always happens to the Indians, and Father Mesnard was reduced to such an extremity that the most insipid and revolting food became a delicious morsel in his eyes.

His guides expected to meet Indians at the entrance of Lake Superior who would give them supplies, but in this hope they were disappointed. Some time after, a falling tree crushed the canoe in which the missionary was, and he was left alone at the spot with three men, but with no provisions. Fortunately they perceived a quantity of bones on the shore; these they pounded and made into a kind of broth, which supported them for some time. In a letter received after his death, the servant of God declared that nothing served more to sustain him amid so many

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action, apparently that of Oct. 14, 1652, or that mentioned in Rel., 1653. In the battle in which he fell he had but twelve men: M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Lettre Aug. 10. Only three were killed besides himself: Lalemant, Journal, March 22, 1662; Registre de Montreal, Feb., 1662; Belmont p. 12. He went to the aid of some workmen attacked by the Iroquois; but the cowardice of a Dutch servant, who took flight, emboldened the enemy, and Closse's pistols missing fire, he was killed before he could adjust them. Closse acted also at Montreal as notary and greffier: Faillon, Histoire, iii., p. 360. He left only one daughter, Jane Cecilia. His services were not forgotten after his death. In 1672 another fief was granted to his widow, and the street St. Lambert was so named in honor of his patron saint.

1662. crosses, than these words, addressed to him by the bishop of Petræa, whom he had met between Three Rivers and Montreal: "All kinds of reasons, my dear Father, should retain you here; but God, more powerful than all our reasons, wills you in the country whither you go."[1]

Adventures of Father Mesnard.

At the end of six days, they came to conduct him to the place chosen for their wintering; this was a bay on the southern shore of Lake Superior. He arrived there on the 15th of October, and gave it the name of St. Teresa, whose festival is celebrated on that day. There he found some Christians of various nations, who gave him sufficient employment, and he increased their number by some predestined souls, for whose salvation Divine Providence seemed to him to have conducted him into those wilds. These are those secret springs of God's goodness, manifested only to those whom it deigns to use to work the miracles of His grace, and a knowledge of which diffuses over their labors an unction which they alone are able to relish.[2]

In the letter already cited, the apostolic man added, that the piety of some Frenchmen, who had accompanied him on this expedition, also contributed greatly to diminish sensibly the grief which he felt on beholding the hardness of heart of most of those for whose salvation he had exposed himself to so many perils. These savages always maintained the treatment which they had kept up throughout the voyage, and he soon perceived that what prevented their hearing him, when he wished to speak to them of religion, was the fear of drawing on them the miseries which had overwhelmed the Hurons: moreover, polygamy was very prevalent among them.[3]

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[1] Relation de la N. F., 1664, p. 2; Letter of Aug. 27, 1660; Relation, 1660, p. 29. The party with whom Ménard went came down with Des Groseillers, who had penetrated to the Nation de Bœuf (Sioux Sedentaires), and now brought down in 26 days from Lake Superior 60 canoes of Ottawas with 200,000 livres of furs: Lalemant, Journal, Aug., 1660. Father Albanel set out also, but was forced to return: Ib., Sept. 14, 1660.

[2] Relation de la N. F., 1664, p. 2; Relation, 1663, p. 18.

[3] Letters of May 1 and July 2, 1660; Relation, 1664, pp. 2–6.

Adventures of Father Mesnard.

At last, after more than eight months' stay in this wretched place, where he lived on little else than acorns and the bark of trees pounded, with a little oil to season them, he was invited by some Hurons who had settled in the island of Chagouamigon[1] or St. Michael, at the western extremity of the lake. Some of the Frenchmen in his party had made the journey, and used every endeavor to divert him from undertaking it: they assured him that it was, at least, a hundred leagues; that the roads were fearful; and that it was against all the dictates of prudence to undertake it in his exhausted state. He replied, that he could not end his course more gloriously than in seeking to gain souls to Christ; and on the 13th of June, in the year 1661, he set out with John Guerin, a very holy man, who had been for over twenty years in the service of the missionaries.[2]

He parted regretfully with the other Frenchmen and his neophytes, who had hitherto been his sole comfort. On taking farewell, he was deeply affected, assuring them that they would no longer see him in life; and he left them deeply touched to see him hasten to almost certain death. Some Hurons had come to serve as his guides; but as they approached their village, they left him, saying that they were going to seek provisions. Father Mesnard, feeling exhausted, stopped to wait their return; but when two weeks passed without any one appearing, he set out in a canoe, which he chanced to find on the bank of a river.[3]

On the 20th of August,[4] he was obliged to walk some distance to avoid a rapid; and while his companion was engaged in carrying over the canoe and loading it, the

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[1] This name is generally given to a celebrated bay opposite St. Michael's island, but it is the proper name of the island itself.—*Charlevoix.* The Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1663, p. 20, does not say that the Hurons were at Chagounegon; nor is it the fact.

[2] Relation de la N. F., 1663, p. 21.

[3] Ib.

[4] 10th of August: Relation, 1663, p. 21.

1662. missionary entered the wood and lost his way. Guerin, after awaiting him for a considerable time, began to call him at the top of his voice; he then fired his gun several times, but all in vain: he even went in various directions through the wood, without discovering any thing. Then, not knowing what to do, and satisfied that the Hurons were not far off, he resolved to push on to their village, which he reached in two days. He explained to the Indians, as well as he could, the accident which had befallen the missionary, and he induced one, by a present of powder and ball, to go in search of him; but this man came in at the end of two hours, saying that he had seen the enemy.[1]

His death.

Idea entertained of his sanctity.

This was apparently a pretext; but be that as it may, nothing certain was ever known of Father Mesnard. His bag was found, some time after, in the hands of an Indian, who would not tell where he got it;[2] and after a lapse of several years, his soutane and breviary were recognized in a Sioux lodge, where a kind of worship was paid them, the Indians offering them all the dishes served up at their feasts.[3] This resulted from the high reputation of sanctity which that religious enjoyed among all the nations of that region. Nor was it less among the French, and indeed New France had not at the time a more accomplished missionary. Heaven had especially endowed him with a rare talent for gaining the Indian mind: this had appeared especially in the short time he spent among the Cayugas.[4]

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[1] Relation de la N. F., 1663, p. 22.

[2] Ib.

[3] Perrot, Mœurs, Coustumes, et Religion des Sauvages, p. 92.

[4] Relation de la N. F., 1663, p. 23. There is an uncertainty as to the place of Father Ménard's death. Bancroft supposes him to have crossed the peninsula towards Chegoimegon by way of Keweena Lake and Portage (iii., 147); but as we know that the Hurons were on Black River at the time (Perrot, p. 87; Rel., 1660, pp. 12, 27), not having followed the Ottawas to Chegoimegon, Ménard would seem to have proceeded to Black River from Keweenaw, and to have perished at the rapid, within a day's journey of a bluff where the Huron fort is still discernible: Historical Magazine, viii., p. 175.

1662.

Death of his servant.

His servant remained but a very short time with the Hurons, and then returned to the French, whom he had left at St. Teresa Bay. There he spent the winter, baptizing over two hundred dying children, the most of them Ottawas (Outoouais).

The next summer he made several excursions; and one day, when the rain compelled him to take shelter under his canoe, the gun of one of his comrades going off accidentally, killed him while he was at prayer. He merely had time to pronounce the holy name of Jesus.[1] Such was the result of the second voyage which the Ottawas made with missionaries. After this they had none, till they settled with other Indians better disposed than they to receive the gospel; nor did they derive greater profit from the advantages which Heaven afforded them. So that, down to this time, they have had no part scarcely in the kingdom of God, except by the children whom it was possible to baptize at the point of death.[2]

Meanwhile, notwithstanding the last hostilities of the Onondagas, Father le Moyne quite freely discharged in that canton all the functions of his ministry. It did not indeed escape him from the first, that all minds were not equally disposed to peace; but he thought it best to dissemble, and this course proved successful. Garakonthié returned loaded with presents, and charmed with the cordial manners of the French. He was greatly surprised to find a part of his nation in sentiments so different from those in which he had left them; and what he heard of the defeat of the major of Montreal, touched him greatly. He soon became aware that they distrusted him; and had not his firmness been proof to any test, there would have

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[1] Relation de la N. F., 1663, p. 23. John Guerin died in Sept., 1662 (Lalemant, Journal, Aug. 5, 1663), when the news of the death of Ménard and Guerin arrived, a flotilla of 35 canoes and 150 Indians, with seven Frenchmen, having come down.)

[2] The missions were continued by Father Allouez (Rel., 1665, p. 9), by Marquette, who took them to Mackinaw, and by others.

1662. been a danger of his being disavowed by the very men who had deputed to the governor-general.[1]

Father le Moyne returns to Montreal with all the French prisoners. Conduct of Garakonthié.

In this crisis, he acted with a prudence and adroitness that would have done honor to a man trained in the management of the most refined policy; and he succeeded in completing his work. The treaty was ratified by the three cantons, and all the French prisoners were given up to Father le Moyne, who brought them all to Montreal,[2] except one, who died a martyr to conjugal chastity.[3] They had endeavored to force him to marry in the cabin where he was a slave: he refused, on the ground that he had a wife, and that his religion did not permit him to have two. This reply did not alter his master's determination, and that Indian, after frequently threatening to kill him, if he did not comply with his wish, fulfilled his threat by tomahawking him.

Mr. Boucher goes to court to represent the necessities of New France.

The return of the others fully convinced Baron d'Avaugour that Garakonthié had negotiated in good faith; but the information that he received from all quarters as to what was going on in the cantons, gave him the deepest concern. By the last vessels that sailed from Quebec, this general, and all the persons in office in the country, had written strongly to the court, to implore the king to take under his protection a colony which was utterly abandoned and reduced to the last extremity. They had committed their memorials to the Sieur Boucher, who commanded at Three Rivers; and much was hoped from the zeal of that officer, who was better acquainted with Canada than any other, and whose virtues fitted him in the highest degree to obtain a favorable hearing from the prince.[4]

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[1] Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1662, p. 11.

[2] He arrived 31st Aug., 1662 (Rel., 1662, p. 12), and at Quebec Sept. 15: Journal of Father Lalemant.

[3] Laliberté, taken at Three Rivers in 1661: Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1662, p. 14.

[4] Boucher, Histoire Veritable de la Nouvelle France, 12mo, 1664; M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Lettre 64, p. 574.

He was indeed very well received by his majesty, who manifested great surprise on learning that so fine a country had met with such neglect. The king then appointed Mr. de Monts commissary, to visit it, and convey his orders. He also commanded four hundred men of his regular troops to be sent over to re-enforce the garrisons of the most exposed posts. Mr. de Monts embarked at Rochelle as soon as navigation was open; and, on the way, took possession, in the king's name, of Placentia, on the island of Newfoundland. His arrival at Quebec caused great joy, both by the actual aid which he brought, and by the hope it inspired that still greater would come the next year; but New France needed more than one kind.[1]

The king sends aid.

Till this time the governor-general had pretty consistently enforced the laws which they had themselves issued against the sale of liquor to the Indians; and Baron d'Avaugour had promulgated very severe penalties against all who violated his ordinances on this important point. A woman of Quebec happening to be caught transgressing, was at once thrown into prison. Father Lallemant, at the entreaty of her relatives or friends, thought that he might, without ill results, intercede in her behalf. He called upon the governor, who received him very ill. Without reflecting that there was nothing inconsistent in the ministers of a God who gave his life to destroy sin and save the sinner acting with zeal to repress vice, and yet ask mercy for the criminal, the governor abruptly told him that inasmuch as the liquor trade was not a fault punishable in that woman, it should not be in future in anybody.

Abuse of the liquor trade. Unwarranted conduct of the Baron d'Avaugour in the matter.

A little more coolness would have caused him to tell the superior that he did his duty in interceding for the woman; but that, on his side, his duty forced him to do justice: but d'Avaugour consulted only his ill-humor and

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[1] De Monts sailed with two large vessels, carrying 100 soldiers and 200 other persons, and among them Mr. Boucher: Lalemant Journal, Oct. 27, 1662. An extract of his account is given in the Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1663, ch. ix., p. 25; M. Marie de l'Incarnation.

1662. a mistaken uprightness; and, what was worst of all, made it a point of honor not to retract the indiscreet expression that had escaped him. The people were soon informed of this, and the disorder became extreme. Men began to declaim aloud against the confessors, who, with truly sacerdotal firmness, wished to oppose a barrier to this torrent. Nor did they spare the Bishop of Petræa, who had deemed the evil sufficiently great to employ in its cure the censures of the Church.[1]

Calumnies concocted on this occasion against the Bishop and missionaries.

As these clamors did not induce them to relax their severity, complaints and invectives redoubled. Some irreligious young men just arrived from France, who were greatly hampered by the watchful attention of the pastors to their flocks, joined the malcontents. On all sides the cry was raised that consciences were fettered; and men have been surprised, and with reason, to see this calumny since renewed in a book printed under the name of a religious.[2] In fine, some individuals thought themselves authorized to draw up memoirs and send them to the king's council; but their addresses were all the more ill received from the fact that not only were the motives which induced them to speak easily penetrated, but the calumnious statements with which they sought to support their complaints were refuted by persons in office, whose testimony could not be suspected.[3]

Scandals among the Indians.

Moreover, the bishop of Petræa, and all the ecclesiastics in Canada, had a reputation too well established to be affected by such accusations. But if the calumniators were discountenanced at court, the evil continued its rapid progress; and the disorder went so far that men soon gave no heed to bishop, or preacher, or confessor. Threats of Divine wrath and the thunders of the Church were alike unavailing to stem a torrent which had burst its bounds. The liquor trade being openly tolerated by the very man who alone could effectually check it, the Indians, who are not able to refrain from it when offered, and in whom the least effect of this drink is the suspension of their reason, plunged into scandals which cost many tears to those who had at such cost begotten them to Christ.

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[1] The documents as to these affairs are very few. Of d'Avaugour, only two dispatches are given—N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 13; Can. Doc., II., i., p. 421—and neither bears on them: M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Lettre May 6, 1662; La Tour, Mem. de Mr. de Laval, p. 68–87.

[2] This alludes to Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 84.

[3] M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Lettre 10th Aug., 1662, p. 572.

In vain did the sachems and village chiefs use every exertion to stay the furious torrent; in vain did they implore the governor-general to interpose all his authority to assist them in enforcing his own ordinances: they could produce no impression on a man who believed, in his prejudice, that they were exaggerating the evil.[1] Thus the disorder kept constantly increasing, and gained the most fervent neophytes; so that, with the exception of a few who voluntarily condemned themselves not to leave Sylleri, so as to shield themselves from the contagion, and some others who, with the same view, retired from Three Rivers and took refuge at Cap de la Magdeleine, all these new Christians, hitherto so exemplary, and the admiration of the very pagans, became the opprobrium of Christianity, which they exposed to the blasphemies and ridicule of the enemies of God.[2]

The Bishop of Petræa complains to the king.

Then the holy Bishop of Petræa, seeing his zeal unavailing and his authority despised, resolved to bear his complaints to the foot of the throne, and passed over to France.[3] He was listened to, and obtained from the king all the orders that he deemed necessary to arrest the scandalous trade which committed such ravages in his flock; but Heaven had already anticipated them, and by one of those events which spread terror through the most disso-

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[1] M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Lettres, p. 571.

[2] Relation de la N. F., 1663, p. 8.

[3] La Tour, Mem. de Mr. de Laval; Marie de l'Incarnation, Lettres, p. 571; Lalemant, Journal, Aug. 12, 1662; Boucher, Histoire Veritable, p. 116.

1662. lute souls, New France had already had the consolation of beholding most of the erring already return to the path of duty.

The fact which I am going to relate is so extraordinary, that I should not have hesitated to suppress it, or pass it lightly over, if the unanimous and constant testimony of a whole colony amid which it happened, and the prodigious effects which it caused, some of which still subsist, had not given it a notoriety which enables it to defy the most hardened skepticism. Not that I pretend to guarantee all the details which fill some Relations: people nowhere indulge in greater exaggeration than in well-authenticated wonders. I shall, therefore, confine myself to the surest memoirs, in which I remark nothing that is not confirmed by tradition, derived from several most irreproachable witnesses.

Surprising phenomena 1663.

During the fall of 1662, a few days after the departure of the Bishop of Petræa, a number of fires, of various and quite eccentric shapes, were seen flying through the air. Over Quebec and Montreal there appeared one night a globe of fire, diffusing a great light,—with this difference, that at Montreal it seemed to detach itself from the moon, and was accompanied by a noise resembling a volley of artillery, and after traversing the air for about three leagues, it disappeared behind the mountain which gives name to the island; while at Quebec it merely passed without any thing special.[1]

On the 7th of January, in the following year, an almost imperceptible vapor rose from the river, and when struck by the first rays of the sun, became transparent, so that it had sufficient substance to support two parhelions which appeared on either side of that orb, so that three apparent suns were seen at once on a line parallel with the horizon, apparently some fathoms apart, each with an iris whose momentarily varying hues sometimes resembled a rainbow and sometimes were a luminous white, as though a great fire were behind. This spectacle lasted for two whole hours, and began anew on the 14th, although on that day it was less striking.[1]

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[1] Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1663, p. 2.

Predictions of an earthquake.

What I am going to add has not been as public, and each one will believe what he thinks fit; but I must observe, that the predictions about to be related were not invented after the fact, but were known before the event; that the event, to judge by the effect which it had produced, has all the appearance of a warning from heaven, and that the ordinary conduct of Providence, on such occasions, is to warn the guilty that divine Justice is ready to launch the thunderbolts. Thus did the Almighty act in regard to the Ninevites, who averted the threatened blow by exemplary penance; and in this case, as we shall soon see, there is something still more marked.

Be that as it may, in the beginning of February, in the same year, a vague rumor spread that there would soon be an earthquake, unexampled in history, and this rumor was based on the words of a person of eminent piety, who had discoursed on the matter to a small number of friends, and who used great exertions to induce all to make their peace with God, and labor with all their might to appease the wrath of Heaven, justly incensed against New France.

On the third of the same month an Algonquin squaw, a fervent Christian, while in her cabin at night awake, and sitting up in her bed, thought that she heard a voice, which told her that in two days things unheard of would occur; and the next day, as she was in the woods with her sister, getting her supply of wood, she again heard the same voice very distinctly, telling her that the next day, between five and six o'clock in the evening, the earth would tremble at a fearful rate. Her sister did not hear the voice, and perceived nothing.[2]

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[1] Relation de la N. F., 1663, p. 3; M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Lettres, p. 575; Choix de Lettres, p. 284.

[2] M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Choix de Lettres Historiques, p. 279; Rel. de la N. F., 1663, p. 6.

1663. A young girl of the same nation, who led a perfectly angelic life, and whose piety and confidence in the power of the Saviour's cross had been rewarded by a sudden cure of a disease deemed incurable by medical men, also thought that, in a dream during the night between the fourth and fifth, she beheld the Mother of God, telling her the hour, and all the circumstances of the earthquake. On the evening of the fifth, a short time before it began, she seemed beside herself, and twice cried aloud at the top of her voice, "It will soon be here;" producing in all who heard her a great sensation.[1]

Finally, the same day, Mother Mary of the Incarnation, the illustrious foundress of the Ursulines of New France, whose generally esteemed works show that she was any thing but weak-minded, after receiving from heaven several warnings of what was about to happen (as she imparted to her director, Father Lallemant), while in prayer,[2] about half-past five thought that she beheld our Lord incensed against Canada, and at the same time felt herself borne by an irresistible power to implore his justice on the crimes committed there. All that she could do to mitigate the rigor of this order, on submitting to it, was to add fervent prayers to obtain from heaven that the souls should not perish with the bodies.

A moment after, she felt assured that the Divine vengeance was about to burst forth, and that the contempt shown for the ordinances of the Church especially enkindled the wrath of God. Almost at the same time, she perceived four demons at the four corners of the city of Quebec, shaking the earth with the utmost violence, and a person of majestic mien, who, from time to time, gave reins to their fury, then drew them in.[2] At the same instant, the heavens being perfectly serene, a noise was heard throughout the city like that caused by a great fire. This caused all the people to run out of their houses.[1]

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[1] Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1663, p. 6.

[2] She relates all this in her letters in the third person, but there is every reason to infer that she spoke of herself.—*Charlevoix.* See her letter, Choix de Lettres Historiques, p. 279. It is not probable that she alludes to herself, as she ascribes it to a "person of tried virtue," terms she would not use to designate herself.

It begins. Its effects.

They were then extremely surprised to see all the buildings shaken with such violence, that the roofs almost touched the ground, first on one side, then on the other; doors opened of themselves, and shut with greatest violence; all the bells sounded, though no one rang them; the posts in the palisade were fairly dancing; walls split open; boards started off and fell; animals uttered fearful cries and howls; the surface of the earth assumed a movement like that of a stormy sea; trees were twisted together, and many torn up by the roots and flung to a distance.[2]

Then noises of all kinds were heard: now, as of a sea in fury bursting over its bounds; then like that of a number of carriages rolling over a pavement; and again, the crash that mountains of rocks and marble would make as they burst open and came crashing together. A thick dust, which rose spontaneously, was taken for smoke, and spread fears of a general conflagration. Finally, some imagined that they heard Indian yells, and were convinced that the Iroquois were about to swoop down on the colony in all directions.[3]

So great and general was the panic, that not only men but the very animals seemed thunderstruck: nothing was heard but cries and lamentations: men ran about in all directions, without knowing whither they wished to go, and wherever they went they met what they sought to escape. The fields presented only yawning chasms, and they expected to see the ground every moment open again

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[1] Relation de la N. F., 1663, p. 6; M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Letter cited.

[2] Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1663, p. 3. Lalemant, Journal, Feb., 1663, gives a very moderate statement, and says the shocks lasted from Feb. 5 to March 15.

[3] M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Choix des Lettres, p. 281.

1663. at their feet. Whole mountains were uprooted and moved from their base; some were thrown amid rivers, blocking up their course; others sank so deep, that the very tops of the trees that covered them were no longer visible.[1]

Trees were hurled through the air as stark as though a mine had exploded under their roots; and some were found planted roots up. Men deemed themselves no safer on water than on land: the ice, which covered the Saint Lawrence and the rivers, crashed as the pieces came together; vast splinters of ice flew up into the air, and from the spot they left, sand and mud in abundance spirted forth. Many springs and small streams dried up; others were impregnated with sulphur: in some cases, the bed where the water had run could no longer be discerned.[2]

Here the waters became red, there yellow: the water of the Saint Lawrence from Quebec to Tadoussac, that is to say, a distance of thirty leagues, became perfectly white. The air, too, had its phenomena. A constant hum was heard; men saw or imagined spectres and fiery phantoms bearing torches. Flames appeared, taking every kind of form, some of pikes, others of lances, and wisps of fire fell on roofs without setting them on fire. From time to time, plaintive voices increased the terror. Porpoises, or sea-cows, were heard moaning in front of Three Rivers, where none of those creatures had ever been seen; and these bellowings in no wise resembled the noise of any known animal.[3]

In a word, throughout an extent of three hundred leagues from east to west, and of more than one hundred and fifty from south to north, the earth, the rivers, and the shores of the sea were for quite a time, but at intervals, in that agitation which the Royal Prophet portrays to us, when relating the wonders which attended the departure of the people of God from Egypt. The effects of this earthquake were infinitely varied; and never, perhaps, was there greater reason to believe that nature was dissolving and the world about to end.

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[1] Relation de la N. F., 1663, p. 4.

[2] M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Choix de Lettres, p. 286.

[3] Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1663, p. 4; M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Choix de Lettres, p. 286.

Earthquake

The first shock lasted half an hour, almost without interruption; but at the end of a quarter of an hour it began to diminish. About eight o'clock in the evening of the same day there was a second shock, equal in violence to the first; and in the space of half an hour two others. During the succeeding night some reckoned thirty-two shocks, several of them very violent.[1] The horror of night and the general consternation may have made them appear greater than they were. Even in the intervals between the shocks, men felt on shore as if in a ship riding at anchor; but this, too, was perhaps a result of a terror-stricken imagination. Yet it is certain that many experienced the sickness at the stomach and dizziness felt at sea, by those unaccustomed to that element.[2]

The next day, the 6th, about three o'clock in the morning, there was a strong shock which lasted for a long time.[3] At Tadoussac it rained ashes for six hours.[4] In another place, some Indians who had left their cabins at the first shocks found, when they endeavored to return, a large pond of water where their cabins had stood.[5] Half way between Tadoussac and Quebec two mountains were levelled down, and the earth which slid from them formed a point which ran out a quarter of a league into the river.[6] Two Frenchmen, on their way from Gaspé in a sloop, perceived nothing till they were opposite the Saguenay.

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[1] M. Marie de l'Incarnation says two in an hour after eight o'clock. She says she counted only six shocks that night, though some counted 32, reckoning some very slight shocks.

[2] Relation de la N. F., 1663, p. 4.

[3] M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Choix de Lettres, p. 283.

[4] Relation de la N. F., 1663, p. 5. As to the origin of these ash showers, see Sewell, Dark Days of Canada, in the Quebec Lit. and Hist. Soc., ii., p. 235; Baddeley, Ib., i., p. 148; Hind's Labrador, i., p. 251.

[5] M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Choix de Lettres, p. 287.

[6] Relation de la N. F., 1663, p. 5; M. Marie de l'Inc., Choix de Let., p. 288.

1663. Then, however, although there was no wind, their sloop began to toss as though it were on a most stormy sea.

Earthquake

Unable to understand what could produce so singular a result, they looked towards the shore, and perceived a mountain which, according to the expression of the prophet, bounded like a ram, then turned around for a time as if by a whirlwind, then sank down and disappeared altogether. A ship in the wake of this sloop was not less tossed; the stoutest sailors could not keep their feet without laying hold of something, as happens in a very heavy swell; and when the captain cast anchor, his cable snapped.[1]

Quite near Quebec a fire, a full league in extent, appeared in broad day, coming from the north, crossed the river, and disappeared over Isle Orleans. Opposite Cape Tourmente, there were such torrents of wild waters descending from the tops of the mountains as to carry away every thing they met. There, too, and above Quebec, the river was diverted, a part of its bed was left dry, and its loftiest banks sank down in some places to the level of the water, which for more than three months remained muddy and of the color of sulphur.[2]

New England and New Netherland were not spared more than the French territory;[3] and throughout this vast extent of land and rivers, during the period between the great shocks, a pulsation was felt, quickening unequally, but commencing everywhere at the same hour. The shocks were sometimes headlong plunges, at others only a kind of swaying, more or less violent; sometimes they were very abrupt, at other times they increased gradually, and not a shock ended without producing some evident result.[4] Where a rapid had existed, the river now flowed calmly on without obstruction. Elsewhere the case was reversed: rocks rose amid a river, whose peaceful course was previously retarded by no obstacle. A man walking in the fields suddenly perceived the earth yawn open near him: he fled, and the fissures seemed to follow him. There was generally less motion on the mountains, but there an incessant din was heard.[1]

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[1] Lespinay's sloop with Mr. de Mazé: M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Choix de Lettres, p. 289.

[2] Ib., p. 296.

[3] Ib., p. 297; Relation de la N. F., 1663, p. 5; Morton, New England's Memorial, Jan. 26, 1663 (O. S.), p. 289; Josselyn, p. 58; O'Callaghan's New Netherland, ii., p. 483.

[4] Relation de la N. F., 1663, p. 5.

No one is killed, and all are converted.

The wonder was, that in such a strange convulsion, lasting more than six months, no one perished. God doubtless wished to convert sinners, not destroy them. Accordingly, great conversions occurred everywhere. All made general reviews of conscience, in many cases with streaming eyes and contrite hearts. Scandalous sinners publicly avowed the abominations of their past life; enemies were reconciled; evil associations ceased, and for a time there was nothing said of that odious traffic which had been the primary source of all the evil. Fasting, alms, pilgrimages, the frequentation of the sacraments, nothing was forgotten to disarm the wrath of Heaven, which was at last appeased.[2]

Consequences of the earthquake.

But although the earth recovered its pristine tranquillity, men did not deem all their evils ended. Many feared that the subterranean fires which had caused such great shocks would burn up the earth and long prevent its producing any crop. Besides this, the planting season was followed by such heavy rains, that there was every reason to suppose that the grain had rotted; but to their agreeable surprise the harvest was abundant.[3]

It was also feared that so much moving of the earth, such revolutions in the waters and exhalations in the air,

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[1] M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Choix de Lettres, p. 294; Relation de la N. F., 1663, p. 5. The same observation was made in the earthquake of 1860: Ferland, p. 488.

[2] Rel. de la N. F., 1663, p. 7; M. Marie de l'Inc., Choix de Let., p. 299; Boucher, Hist. Verit., Avant Propos.

[3] M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Lettre 18th Aug., 1663. The shocks lasted till late in the year: Ib., Aug. 20; Faillon, Histoire de la Colonie Française, iii., p. 52; Relation, 1663, p. 26. For the seven known earthquakes in Canada, see Dawson, Notes on the Earthquake of 1860.

1663. would cause dangerous diseases; yet, notwithstanding, there never had been less sickness. Gradually the country resumed its original form in places where it did not need a second earthquake like the first to restore it; for the mountains remained where they had been transported; some rivers did not return to their former beds; and of the newly-formed islands, some remained, and even increased in time by means of the mud washed on them, and the trees which stopped there: other islands, however, were soon swept away by the current.

I have remarked, in my Journal, that Ile aux Coudres, which is half-way between Tadoussac and Quebec, then became much larger than it was before: but it is not true, as some have asserted, that it was entirely formed by a mountain which leaped into the river, and in the site of which, for the first time, appeared the whirlpool which renders that passage so dangerous; for it is certain that the island obtained the name it bears from Jacques Cartier.[1] As for the whirlpool, inasmuch as it is not mentioned either in the memoirs of that navigator or in those of Mr. de Champlain, both merely mentioning a strong current in this channel, it may indeed be at least in part a result of the earthquake.[2]

New propositions of the Iroquois

It is easy to conceive that while all the elements were in the agitation just described, the Iroquois did not think much of war. Some, however, made their appearance in the direction of Montreal; but without committing any considerable ravages: they were even defeated in some slight actions.[3] Moreover, the Mohawks and Oneidas received quite a check from the Chippeways,[4] and the three other cantons were again straitened to defend themselves against the Andastes.[1] Finally, the small-pox broke out in almost all their towns, and committed great ravages.[2] Hence they were more disposed than ever to live well with us: the Onondagas even requested the French to come and restore their former establishment in their canton, offering to send as many of their own daughters as should be desired, to be educated by the Ursulines, and serve as hostages.[3]

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[1] Charlevoix's Journal, p. 66. As to Isle aux Coudres, see vol. i. of this work, p. 116; La Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Septent., i., p. 209.

[2] La Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale, i., p. 209.

[3] Rel. de la N. F., 1663, p. 26; Dollier de Casson, Hist. de Montreal, 1663-4.

[4] The Chippeways defeated them near Lake Huron: Relation de la N. F., 1663, p. 10. The Algonquins of Sillery, under Gahronho, to the number of 42, also defeated a Mohawk Oneida party under Garistarsia, or Iron, a celebrated chief, who was killed, with ten of his party

But at the time that they were preparing to dispatch deputies to conclude this arrangement, a Huron, naturalized among the Iroquois, spread rumors through all the towns, which broke off the negotiations. He arrived from Three Rivers, where he had learned, he said, that thousands of men had just landed at Quebec, and that the French were on the point of pouring down in full force on the Iroquois country, resolved not to leave a cabin standing, and to exterminate the whole nation.[4]

Arrival of a new Governor and Commissary at Quebec.

The only truth in this was, that the Bishop of Petræa and Mr. de Mesy, whom the king sent to relieve the Baron d'Avaugour, had just arrived at Quebec with troops.[5] They were also accompanied by the Sieur Gaudais, whom the king had appointed Commissary to take possession, in his majesty's name, of all New France, the Canada Company having restored the domain to the king on the

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and several taken, near the Richelieu Isles: Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1663, p. 15; Lalemant, Journal, May, 1663. They also rescued a settler of Montreal, who had just been enrolled in the Militia of the Holy Family, recently established by M. de Maisonneuve: Mem. Hist. Soc. Montreal, p. 134.

[1] Susquehannas: Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1663, p. 10.

[2] Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1663, p. 11.

[3] Ib.

[4] Ib.

[5] They arrived Sept. 15, 1663: Lalemant, Journal; M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Lettres. De Mesy's commission is in the Edits et Ordonnances, iii., p. 21. D'Avaugour did not await the arrival of his successor, but left on the 23d of July (Lalemant, Journal), after having submitted to the king an able memoir on the means to be adopted to give France the mastery of North America: N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 13, 20.

1663. 14th of February, in the same year.[1] They were also accompanied by a hundred families, coming to settle the country, and by several officers, civil and military.

How justice had been previously administered in Canada.

The Commissary began by administering the oath of fidelity to all the settlers: then he regulated police affairs, and issued several ordinances concerning the mode of administering justice. Hitherto there had properly been no courts of justice in Canada. The governors-general judged matters in quite a sovereign style: there was no thought of appeal from their sentence; but they usually gave no judgment until after all ways of arbitration were ineffectually tried, and it is admitted that their decisions were almost always dictated by good sense and the rules of natural law, which rises above all others. Baron d'Avaugour had especially acquired a high reputation by the manner in which he settled differences. Moreover, the Canadian settlers, although generally of Norman[2] origin, had nothing of the litigious spirit, and ordinarily preferred to yield something of their just rights rather than lose time at law. Indeed, there seemed to be a community of property in that colony; at all events, they lived for quite a long time without keeping any thing under lock and key, and it was unheard-of that any advantage was taken of this confidence. It is very strange and very humiliating for man, that the precautions adopted by a wise prince to banish chicanery and establish justice almost mark the epoch when the former arose and the latter declined.

There had indeed been a Grand Seneschal of New France in 1640,[3] and a jurisdiction at Three Rivers, dependent on the tribunal of that magistrate; but he was in turn apparently subject in his functions to the governors-

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[1] See Gaudais' Instructions, Edits et Ordonnances, iii., 23; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., 9. The surrender of the colony by the company, and the king's acceptance, are in vol. i., p. 31; but Charlevoix gives the date incorrectly—it should be Feb. 24th.

[2] The Normans are proverbially litigious.

[3] The Chevalier John de Lauson, who arrived in 1651, is the first Senéchal whom I find mentioned. He was killed, as we have seen, in 1660: Mem. Soc. Hist. Montreal, p. 67.

The Superior Council.

general, who had always reserved the right of administering justice in person, on recourse had to them, and this was frequently the case. In important affairs, he convened a kind of council, composed of the Great Seneschal, the Superior of the Jesuits (who, previous to the arrival of the bishop, was the only ecclesiastical Superior in the country), and some of the most notable inhabitants, who were invested with the title of councillors.

Thus when, in 1651, the Sieur Godefroy was sent with Father Dreuillettes to New England to treat of a perpetual peace between the two colonies, he was styled in his credentials, "Councillor in the Council of New France."[1] But this council was not permanent: the Governor-General established it by virtue of the power conferred on him by the king, and changed it as he saw fit.[2] It was not till this year, 1663, and after the king took Canada into his own hands, that this colony had a permanent council established by the prince. The edict for its creation, dated in March of this year, enacts that it shall consist of Monsieur de Mesy, Governor-General; Monsieur de Laval, Bishop of Petræa, Vicar-Apostolic in New France; Mr. Robert, the Intendant; of four councillors to be named by these three, subject to removal or continuance in office at their pleasure; of a Procurator-General, and a Greffier-en-Chef.[3]

Mr. Robert, Councillor of State, had been this year appointed Intendant of Justice, Police, Finance, and Commerce for New France, and his commission is dated the twenty-first day of March; but he never came to Canada, and Mr. Talon, who arrived in 1665, is the first who filled the office.[4] Mr. Duchesneau, who succeeded him in 1675, brought over a royal order, by which the Intendant was

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[1] See vol. ii., p. 214.

[2] See letter of d'Argenson, Sept., 1658, Can. Doc., II., i., p. 267.

[3] See edict in Edits et Ordonnances, i., p. 37, where it bears date April; N. Y. Colonial Documents, ix., p. 7, which gives March.

[4] Commission, Edits et Ordonnances, iii., p. 33; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 22.

1663. to discharge, in council, the function of First President, giving, nevertheless, the first place to the Governor-General and the second to the bishop. The number of councillors was at the same time increased by two, and all the members of the council received commissions from the court.[1]

Present form of the Superior Council.

This investing of the Intendant with the functions of First President, gave great umbrage to the Governor-General. He remonstrated, but was not heard. It was, however, enacted by an edict of the Council of State, on the 29th of May, 1680, that in all the acts and minutes of the council, the Governor and Intendant should take no title but that of their office or rank.[2] In 1704 four new councillors were created, one ecclesiastical and three laymen: the number is accordingly twelve at present,[3] including the bishop. One, styled First Councillor, has a double salary. He is appointed by the court, but the grade is only an honorary one, without any special functions. He has eight hundred livres a year: five senior councillors have four hundred, the rest nothing, and there are no fees. The Procurator-General and Greffier-en-Chef also have salaries, but very moderate ones.[4]

Principles regulating its decisions.

The council meets regularly every Monday in the palace where the Intendant resides; and when an extraordinary meeting is necessary, the day and hour are fixed by the Intendant, who notifies the Governor-General by the first Huissier. Justice is administered according to the ordinances of the kingdom and the custom of Paris. In the month of June, 1679, the king, by edict, authorized some regulations of this council, and this is called, in Canada, "*La Reduction du Code.*"[5] Difficulties then arose as to the hearing of appeals, and these were explained by another edict in March, 1685, which further declared that actions, in which members of the council were interested,

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[1] Edits et Ordonnances, iii., p. 81.

[2] Ib., i., p. 238.

[3] 1743.

[4] Edits et Ordonnances, i., p. 299.

[5] The ordonnance of 1667, as modified, is given in the Edits et Ordonnances, iii., pp. 106–230; the king's edict, Ib., p. 236.

1663.

should, on the demand of one of the parties, be transferred to the Intendant, who should decide them, aided by judges whom he was to summon for the purpose. Those, also, who wished to return by civil petitions, were authorized to present them on a simple petition, and the council was empowered to pronounce, judging both rescindant and rescisoire at the same time. Finally, the same edict empowered the council, to the number of five judges, to try criminal actions.[1]

Subaltern jurisdictions.

There are also in this colony three subaltern tribunals—those of Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal. They are composed of a Lieutenant-General, a Particular-Lieutenant, and a King's Attorney. Their salaries are regulated by a Declaration of his majesty, dated May 12th, 1678.[2] The notaries, huissiers, and sergeants have also salaries, without which they could not live, fees being reduced almost to nothing in so poor and thinly-peopled a colony.[3]

Till the year 1692 the local tribunal of Montreal belonged to the Gentlemen of the Seminary of Saint Sulpice, in their character of Seigneurs. They then resigned it to the king, on condition of reserving the exercise of the right within the enclosure of their seminary, and on their farm of Saint Gabriel, with the perpetual and incommutable right to the Greffe of the Royal Justice, to be established in the island, and the nomination of the First Judge. This was granted in the edict creating the new tribunal, dated in March of the following year, 1693; but as to the last article, only for that occasion.[4] Such were the provisions of the late king to afford his subjects in New France prompt and easy justice; and on the model of this Superior Council of Quebec, others were subsequently established in Martinique, Saint Domingo, and Louisiana. All these councils are d'epée.

Sieur Gaudais was not to remain in the colony. He

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[1] Edits et Ordonnances, iii., p. 253

[2] Ib., i., p. 99.

[3] Edits et Ordonnances, i., p. 99.

[4] Ib., p. 276.

1663. had express orders to return to France by the same vessel that took him to Quebec, in order to render the king an exact account of the country, and inform him as to the conduct of the bishop and ecclesiastics, the effect produced by the establishment of the council, what ground there was for the complaints made against the Baron d'Avaugour, and the manner in which Mr. de Mésy was received.[1] This Commissary fulfilled his mission as an upright man, and every thing passed satisfactorily to the parties. The terrible scourge with which Canada had been afflicted had restored all things to order, and reconciled all. The Baron d'Avaugour, who could be reproached only with excessive harshness, and a disinclination to lay aside his prejudices, seemed well pleased with a recall which he had himself requested. He soon after, with the permission of his royal master, re-entered the service of the emperor against the Turks, and was killed the next year, while most gloriously defending Fort Serin,[2] on the frontiers of Croatia.

New raids of the Iroquois in the north. 1664.

The Iroquois, nevertheless, kept constantly in arms; but they did not appear in the colony. They wished, apparently, to observe what effect, so far as they were concerned, would be produced by the changes made and the re-enforcements received. The next winter they resumed their forays in the north, and committed great cruelties. Still Garakonthié did not cease to labor for peace; and his ever consistent conduct gave reason to hope that Canada would always find in him a resource against the caprices and levity of his nation. He had again assembled the French captives to be found in the cantons, and sent them to Quebec escorted by thirty Onondagas.[3]

As they were advancing on their way, in all the security that such a commission seemed to permit, they were surprised by a party of Algonquins, who took them for enemies, and attacked them without hesitation. This they did with such impetuosity, that several Iroquois were killed on the spot, and the rest put to flight. Even the French barely escaped the disorder. Not one of them, however, was wounded. There was every reason to fear that this misadventure would have still more fatal consequences; but Garakonthié prevented them, and made the Onondagas listen to reason.[1]

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[1] See instructions, Arrets et Ordonnances, iii., p. 23; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 9.

[2] Zrin, on the Unna or Sunna, a tributary of the River Save.

[3] Rel. de la N. F., 1664, pp. 26–34.

Unfortunate misadventure. Garakonthié's conduct.

At the end of some months, the French were agreeably surprised to see arriving at Quebec the Cayuga chief, mentioned several times already, who, without alluding to the affair with the Algonquins, presented to Mr. de Mésy belts from all the cantons except the Oneida, and protested their sincere disposition to live in peace with him.[2] The general gave him a cordial welcome, and he deserved it: but Mr. de Mésy told him that his predecessors had been so often deceived by similar propositions, it would be an imprudence on his part to put any trust in the nation; and he let him see that a design was adopted to rid themselves once for all of an enemy so often reconciled in appearance and so irreconcilable in fact.[3]

New propositions of peace. Reply of Mr. de Mésy.

Mr. de Mésy thought he might assume this tone, because he felt his strength, and was sure of receiving speedily a powerful re-enforcement: but, this very year, a change took place in the neighborhood of the Iroquois, changing entirely the position in which that nation stood, and to which must be ascribed a good part of all that we have since then had to suffer from the insolence of the Iroquois. To understand this clearly we must resume matters, and explain somewhat at length matters only alluded to incidentally.

The English seize New Netherland.

Henry Hudson, as already mentioned, discovered the

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[1] Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1664, p. 34; Lalemant, Journal, May, 1664; M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Lettre Aug. 18, 1664.

[2] Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1664, p. 35. They arrived at Quebec Sept. 18, 1664: Lalemant, Journal. He did not regard it as a sincere peace.

[3] Relation de la N. F., 1664, p. 35.

1664. river Manhatte in 1609. I do not know on what principles he deemed himself authorized to dispose of his discovery as owner; but it is certain that he sold it the same year to the States-General, who, in 1614, began to clear the country, and sent over settlers in considerable numbers. Several years after, Sir Samuel Argall, the same who had expelled the French from Pentagoet and Acadia, having been invested with the general government of Virginia, resolved to reclaim the territory discovered by Hudson, pretending that that navigator could not sell, nor the States-General buy it, without the permission of the king of Great Britain, whose subject he was.

He accordingly sent troops and inhabitants to Manhatte, and the Dutch, taken by surprise, could not prevent the English from taking a part of New Netherland; but they held their ground in the rest, and remained masters, especially of the capital, which they had called New Amsterdam, of the city of Orange, and of two other forts.[1] The Swedes also, at this time, settled in the southern part nearest to Virginia.[2] Now it appears that down to this year, 1664, these three nations lived quite harmoniously. But in this year the king of England, Charles II., having been informed that the Dutch were beginning to encroach on the English, sent four commissaries with good troops, who, without resistance, took possession of Manhatte, or New Amsterdam, which they called New York, of Orange, which they styled Albany, of the city of Arasapha, and of the Castle of Lavare.[3]

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[1] It seems scarcely necessary, for American readers, to expose the errors here. As to Hudson, see ante, vol. ii., p. 10. Hudson was in Dutch employ and in a Dutch vessel when he discovered the country, and made no sale. Argall's visit is, beyond doubt, a late invention; and was assigned, not to the period when he was Governor of Virginia, but to that when he was returning from Acadia: Ante, vol. i., p. 283.

[2] The Swedish settlement was made in 1638. As to it, see Campanius, Nye Sverige; Stockholm, 1702.

[3] New Amsterdam capitulated September 6, 1664. See Commem. of Conq. of New Netherland, p. 64. Arasapha is probably Esopus. The Chateau de Lavare is De La Warre.

1664.

There was subsequently an arrangement between the English and Dutch; several of the latter consented to acknowledge the king of Great Britain as their sovereign, and on this condition were maintained in possession of all their property. His Britannic Majesty, to compensate the States-General, ceded to them the settlement of Surinam, in the vicinity of Guiana; and the Swedes also retained some of their forts.[1] Since that time New Netherlands has borne the name of New York, and the French in Canada were not long in perceiving that the Iroquois, by changing neighbors, had become less tractable, having soon discovered that the antipathy of the two European nations between whom they lay, would always enable them to find in one of them sufficient aid to save them from all oppression at the hands of the other.[2]

Fresh troubles in Canada.

The French in Canada had not had time to note what was occurring in New York: moreover, the re-enforcements which the king had already sent to New France, and still more the steps taken to follow up these first advances, gave hopes that we should soon be in a position to dictate terms to the Iroquois. But, unfortunately, the harmony which the government flattered itself on establishing between all those who had most to do with the management of affairs, was but short-lived. When it was least anticipated, the new Governor-General fell out with the Bishop of Petræa, and with all those in office in the colony.

That prelate had, as we have noted, gone to France to complain of the Baron d'Avaugour. He not only obtained the recall of that general, but the king even carried his condescension so far as to leave to the bishop the choice

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[1] The Dutch recaptured New Netherland, Aug. 12, 1673, and gave it up for Surinam, in 1674. The Swedish posts had already been reduced by the Dutch, and the whole country became English.

[2] The necessity of taking New Netherland, to insure the safety of Canada, is noted by M. Mary of the Incarnation; and as Louis XIV. disliked the Dutch, it is remarkable that he did not seize New Netherland, especially after Cromwell's avowed intention to do so.

1664. of his successor. Mr. de Mésy, major of the Citadel of Caën, professed exalted piety. The Bishop of Petræa, who had known him intimately, cast his eyes on him, proposed him to the king, and his majesty accepted the nomination. But he was scarcely in office before he seemed a totally different man, or else those who abused his predecessor's weakness profited by his (for where is the man who has not some?) to urge him to still greater excesses against the bishop and against those who thought like the prelate.[1]

Violent conduct of Mr. de Mésy

The metamorphosis was so sudden, and the flames of discord were kindled to that extent, that it was necessary to apply a prompt remedy. The king's council had no doubt of the culpability of Mr. de Mésy, especially when they beheld at the head of his accusers two of the chief members of the council, namely, the Sieur Villeray, Councillor, and the Sieur Bourdon, Procurator-General, both men of known probity and wisdom, whom the new governor had, without any form of trial, compelled to embark for France. Yet, they did not disregard the memorials which he had transmitted to the ministry in his own defence; and although these did not justify his course, they excited suspicions which it was subsequently very difficult for some to lay aside.

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[1] Augustine de Saffray Mésy was originally a Calvinist, but became a disciple of the celebrated Mr. de Bernieres, and had passed some time at the Hermitage with Mr. de Laval: M. Marie de l'Incarnation; Juchereau, Histoire de l'Hotel-Dieu de Quebec, p. 148. De Mésy's commission was dated May 1, 1664: Edits et Ordonnances, iii., p. 21; Can. Doc., II., ii., p. 170. On his arrival the council was reorganized, under edict of April, 1663 (Edits et Ord., iii., p. 37), Quebec made a city with a mayor and echevins (Edits et Ordon., ii., p. 10), and severe laws against liquor-dealers promulgated. Less justifiable were his acts in relation to Montreal, and especially his removal of the veteran Maisonneuve, in June, 1664. Garneau, Histoire du Canada, i., p. 186, gives a detail of the whole struggle between de Mésy and the bishop, from the Registers of the Sovereign Council. The breach arose from the election of a syndic, in 1664, to replace the mayor and echevins. De Mésy removed the first one elected, and called a new election against the advice of his council. De Mésy removed three of the council and Mr. Bourdon, Procureur-General; and finally, Sept. 18, 1664, dissolved the council entirely, and formed a new one: Lalemant, Journal. The bishop protested against these acts as illegal: N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 19, 22, etc. See as to de Mésy, Ragueneau, Vie de la Mère Catherine, p. 254, etc.

He had insisted especially and strongly on the great influence which the Jesuits had in the colony; and as the court had hitherto scarcely interfered in the affairs of New France, which it had in some sort abandoned to the Canada Company, and as the Relations annually received from that country and widely circulated, spoke much of those missionaries, whose functions obliged them to enter into all matters that concerned the Indians, many persons were convinced that the governor's complaints were not unfounded: they judged of what was by what might be, and concluded that men who enjoyed so great an influence would, naturally speaking, use every endeavor to preserve it, and might at times abuse it.[1]

He is recalled.

On the other hand, the council was convinced, and unhesitatingly avowed, that New France was under obligation to them for being upheld in the critical circumstances through which it had passed; they were esteemed necessary in connection with the natives of the country, who knew them only, and who could be secured only by their means; finally, Mr. de Mésy, while recriminating, had not cleared himself, the Bishop of Petræa making charges of which he could not purge himself.

Mr. Colbert, accordingly, deemed it necessary to recall him, reserving to himself to take precautions to limit the power of the ecclesiastics and missionaries in case it was shown that it went too far; and, in this view, he prepared to select for the colony officers of a character not to give any ground of exception in their conduct, and who would not suffer any to share with them an authority which it behooved them to be invested with exclusively. Mr. de

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[1] See, as to this affair, La Tour, Mem. de Mr. de Laval, Abbé Bois, Esquisse de la Vie et des Travaux Apostoliques de sa Grandeur Mr. F. X. de Laval-Montmorency, pp. 29, 30.

1664. Mésy was accordingly recalled;[1] but before speaking of the successor appointed in his stead, it is well to continue our remarks on the change made in the government of Canada by the suppression of the Company which had enjoyed the domain of Canada for thirty-five years, and this we shall do in the following book.

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[1] On the 27th April, 1665, Mr. de Mésy, then quite ill, commissioned James Leneuf de la Potherie to administer the colony after his death, and died May 5-6, 1665: Lalemant, Journal. The council did not, however, recognize de la Potherie: Edits et Ordonnances, ii., 25.

BOOK IX.

BOOK IX.

1664.

WE have seen in what a state of weakness and languor the Company of a Hundred Associates, erected in 1628 for the settlement of Canada, although one of the most powerful ever formed, either in the number or rank of the members, or the privileges conferred on it,[1] had nevertheless left that colony. It even wearied soon of the slight expense it incurred, and, after the year 1644, abandoned the fur-trade to the settlers, although it was almost the only advantage it derived, reserving only for its right of seigneury an annual quit-rent of one thousand beaver-skins.[2]

The king grants Canada, surrendered by the company of 100 associates, to a new company.

At last, in 1662, having been reduced to forty-five associates, it purely and simply surrendered all its rights to his majesty,[3] who soon after included New France in the grant made of the French colonies in America in favor of the West India Company, with the right of appointing governors and all officers.[4] It is true, that as this new company (says Mr. Colbert, in a memoir that I have had in my hand) had not yet sufficient knowledge of the persons proper to fill the first posts, it besought the king to fill

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[1] See vol. ii., ante, p. 39.

[2] Articles accordés entre les directeurs et associés en la Compagnie de la Nouvelle France, et les deputés des habitants du dit pays, Can. Doc., II., p. 152. They were dated January 14, 1644, and were approved by the king March 6, 1645: Edits et Ord., i., 28; Memoires sur les Possessions, ii., p. 497.

[3] See deliberation held Feb. 24, 1663, Edits et Ordonnances, i., p. 30; Abandon et Demission du Canada au Roi par la Compagnie de la N. F., Ib., 31; Acceptation du Roi de la Demission, Ib.

[4] See patent, Etablissement de la Compagnie des Indes Occidentales, May 28, 1664, Edits et Ordonnances, i., p. 40; Mem. des Comm., ii., p. 527.

1664. them, till it was able to use the privilege which his majesty had had the goodness to grant it;[1] and it was in consequence of this request that Mr. de Mésy was appointed Governor-General, and Mr. Robert Intendant of New France.

The Marquis de Tracy appointed Viceroy of America by commission.

On the 19th of November, in the same year, 1663, the king issued a patent of Lieutenant-General, with the power and commission of Viceroy in America, in favor of Alexander de Prouville, Marquis de Tracy, Lieutenant-General of his armies, ordering him to proceed to the Windward Isles, thence to St. Domingo, and thence to New France, there to remain as long as should be necessary to settle all matters in that colony, to establish it solidly within and secure it without, by bringing the Iroquois to reason.[2]

De Tracy set out early in the ensuing year;[3] and soon after his departure, the court received the complaints of the Bishop of Petræa and the Superior Council of Quebec against Mr. de Mésy. His majesty was at the same time petitioned to send over to New France families to settle

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[1] Instructions to Talon, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., 25. In this document of Colbert we see a new element entering into the government ideas—the anti-Jesuit and anti-clerical. The influence of Colbert was to exclude the clergy from the important part hitherto exercised by them, and to restrict them in many matters within their legitimate competence. The struggle between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, which began under d'Avaugour, lasted for many years.

[2] Commission of the Marquis de Tracy, Nov. 19, 1663, Edits et Ord., i., p. 27. He is often styled Viceroy, but incorrectly: the Viceroy at the time was Godfrey, Count d'Estrades, Marshal of France, appointed apparently in 1662. He was at this time ambassador in Holland. After Richelieu (1628–42) and the Duke de Maillé-Brézé (1642–4) had acted as such under the title of "Grand Master, Chief, and Superintendent-General of the Navigation and Commerce of France," there was a series of viceroys—1. Francis Christopher de Lévis, Duke de Damville, 1644–60; 2. Isaac de Pas, Marquis de Feuquieres, 1660–2; 3. Godfrey, Count d'Estrades, 1662–86; 4. John, Count d'Estrées et de Tourpes, 1686–1707; 5. Mary Victor, Count d'Estrées, Marshal de Cœuvres, 1707–1737, with whom the title ceased. The earlier viceroys have been already mentioned. See Memoires de la Soc Historique de Montreal, pp. 97–122.

[3] Tracy sailed to the West Indies from Rochelle in the Brezé, Feb. 26, 1664, with orders to proceed thence to Canada: Relation de la N. F., 1665, p. 3; Juchereau, Hist. de l'Hotel-Dieu, p. 173.

1664.

the country, and to select them from the Isle de France, Normandy, Picardy, and the neighboring provinces, as the people there were, it was said, laborious, industrious, full of religious feeling, while the provinces near the seaports, where the shipments were made, contained many heretics, and a population less adapted to agriculture.[1]

Mr. de Courcelles appointed Governor of New France, and Mr. Talon Intendant. 1665.

As soon as the king determined to recall Mr. de Mésy, he assigned as his successor Daniel de Remi, Seigneur de Courcelles, a meritorious and experienced officer; and to replace Mr. Robert, his majesty chose Mr. Talon, who was Intendant in Hainaut. On the 21st of March, 1665, the nominations of these gentlemen were signed, and a special commission was added, requiring them, in conjunction with the Marquis de Tracy, to investigate the charges against Mr. de Mésy, with orders, in case he were found guilty of the facts of which he was accused, to arrest and bring him to trial.[2] Orders were also given to raise colonists, and to embark the regiment of Carignan-Salieres, just arrived from Hungary, where it had greatly distinguished itself in the war against the Turks, and which was now intended to act against the Iroquois.[3]

De Tracy arrived at Quebec, in the month of June, with some companies of the regiment of Carignan-Salieres, who

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[1] The matter of faith, previously so strictly adhered to, and here urged, seems to have been disregarded, as Le Mercier's Journal, Sept. 14, says: "Up to this time 20 heretics converted." The ships bringing over settlers brought much sickness. The Normandy, Oct. 2, brought 82 women and 132 workingmen.

[2] See commissions, dated March 23, Edits et Ordonnances, iii., pp. 31, 33; N. Y. Col. Documents, ix., p. 22; Instructions to Talon, Ib., p. 24.

[3] The Carignan regiment took its name from having been raised by Thomas Francis, Prince de Carignan, of the family of the present king of Italy, and was still considered as belonging to and commanded by his son; but the king had placed in actual command Henry de Chapelas, Sieur de Salières, proprietor and colonel of another regiment, which was incorporated with that of Carignan: hence the double name. The Carignan regiment participated in the war of La Fronde, and served under Turenne at Auxerre. It was part of the 4,000 men sent in 1664 to aid Leopold against the Turks, and was distinguished at the battle of St. Godard: Garneau, i., p. 203.

1665. had accompanied him to the West Indies,[1] and he detached a part with some Indians, under the guidance of Captain the Sieur de Tilli de Repentigny, to pursue the Iroquois, who had renewed their raids.[2] It required nothing more to induce these savages to beat a retreat; and as the fruit of this first expedition, the harvests were gathered in perfect security. The rest of the regiment of Carignan, except some companies, arrived with the colonel, Mr. de Salieres, on a squadron which also brought over Messrs. de Courcelles and Talon, a great many families, a number of mechanics, laborers, the first horses seen in Canada, cattle, sheep—in a word, a more considerable colony than that which they came to re-enforce.[3]

Great re-enforcements arrive in Canada. The Iroquois retire.

Forts built on the river of the Iroquois.

The viceroy lost no time. As soon as he received this re-enforcement, he put himself at the head of all his troops and marched to the mouth of the river Richelieu, where he set them to work at the erection of three forts simultaneously. The first was erected on the site of the old Fort Richelieu, built by the Chevalier de Montmagny, of which only the ruins remained.[4] It was put under Mr. de Sorel, captain in the Carignan regiment, who was left as commandant; and since that time the river has taken his name, which he gave to the fort. The second was built at the foot of the rapid which, as I have remarked, is met as you ascend the river. It received the name of Saint Louis; but Mr. de Chambly, captain in the same regiment, who directed the works and had command, having afterwards acquired the ground on which it stood, the whole canton and the stone fort, subsequently built on the ruins of the first, now bear the name of Chambly.[1]

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[1] Tracy arrived June 30, 1665, with four companies on the Bresé and Teron; but four others had arrived direct from Rochelle on the 17th and 19th: Lalemant, Journal, June 19–30, 1665; Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1665, pp. 4, 25; Juchereau, Histoire de l'Hotel-Dieu de Quebec, p. 174; M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Lettre 28 Juil., 1665.

[2] July 23: Relation de la N. F., 1665, p. 7; Lalemant, Journal. Repentigny commanded a company of provincial volunteers: Relation.

[3] Colonel de Salières arrived with his son, Aug. 15: Le Mercier, Journal. The Rel. 1665, p. 25, says Aug. 18–19. Capt. Poulet's vessel, from Havre, which reached Quebec July 16, brought twelve horses and some girls, etc.: Lalemant, Journal; Rel., 1665, p. 25. Courcelle and Talon arrived Sept. 12, on the St. Sebastian: Le Mercier, Journal. The Jardin de Hollande came on the same day; and the Justice, with eight companies, two days after: Relation, p. 25. The first horse had been brought June 20, 1647, and was presented to Montmagny: Lalemant, Journal. See Hist. Mag., v., p. 355.

[4] On Bellin's map accompanying this work it is placed on the left instead of being on the right of the river.

Mr. de Salieres took charge of the third, which he called Fort St. Teresa, because it was completed on the feast of that saint. It was three leagues above the second fort, and the colonel made this his own post.[2] These works were completed with extreme diligence; and they did indeed at first inspire the Iroquois with alarm, but they soon recovered from it. Only one road to enter the colony was blockaded, and they soon opened several others. If, instead of these three forts, a good one had been built at Onondaga, or in the Mohawk canton, and care been taken always to keep up a good garrison there, they would have embarrassed them much more. That still standing at Chambly, nevertheless, does not fail to shield the colony on the side of New York and the lower Iroquois.[3]

Meanwhile Mr. Talon had remained at Quebec, where

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[1] According to the Rel., 1665, p. 10, Chambly built Fort Richelieu, or Sorel, and Sorel Fort St. Louis, or Chambly; but the map reverses this, and is apparently correct.

[2] Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1665, p. 10. It was 15 feet high, with a double palisade, and a banquette within a foot and a half from the ground: Ib. Le Mercier notes its completion in his Journal, Oct. 15, 1665, on which day, at 9 P. M., there was a shock of an earthquake.

[3] Fort Chambly, or "Shamblee," as our early colonists called it, figures in all the border wars after Charlevoix's day. One of the earliest acts of De Tracy was to remove M. de Maisonneuve from office as Governor of Montreal, and send him back to France. This is not mentioned in the Relation or in the Superior's Journal, but is stated in Dollier de Casson, Histoire de Montreal, and more fully by Juchereau, Histoire de l'Hotel-Dieu de Quebec, pp. 124–5. He died at Paris, at his ordinary residence in the parish of St. Etienne du Mont, between the gates of St. Marcel and St. Victor, Sept. 9, 1676, and was buried the next day in the church of the Fathers of the Christian Doctrine: Faillon, Histoire de la Colonie Française, iii., pp. 110–6.

1665. he had not been inactive. He informed himself thoroughly of the forces, nature, and resources of the country,[1] and by the 4th of October, he completed a detailed memoir, which he addressed to Mr. Colbert. He acquainted him that Mr. de Mésy had died before information of his recall reached Canada; that it had been considered most advisable by the Marquis de Tracy, Mr. de Courcelles, and himself, not to proceed to investigate the conduct of that governor, and that as the Bishop of Petræa, the ecclesiastics, the Superior Council, in a word, all who had brought charges, refrained from taking any further steps in the matter, they had considered that his majesty would not deem it improper that his faults should be buried with him in the tomb.[2]

Talon's report to Colbert.

He then speaks of de Tracy, and remarks that the age and infirmities of that Viceroy inspired grave fears that the country would not possess him long; that he did not spare himself at all, and could not be more active were he a man of thirty; that his great ability for the office which his majesty had confided to him rendered him, nevertheless, very necessary to New France; and that in his opinion, in case he sought to retire, the king should not displease him by refusing permission, but should urge him to continue his services, leaving him at liberty to return, and evincing the pleasure that it would afford his majesty if he did not avail himself of it, till he was assured that his absence would be in no wise prejudicial to the affairs of the colony. He gave his opinion on Mr. de Courcelles briefly, making a very fine eulogium upon him; and he detracted nothing from it, even in the time of the contentions which he subsequently had with that governor. Finally, to come to colonial topics, he declared that he did not know a more glorious undertaking for a great minister like him, than the care that he would give this country, there being none in America that could become more useful to the kingdom.

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[1] Mother Juchereau gives a pleasing anecdote of his passing himself off as a valet in visiting the Hotel Dieu. Hist. de l'Hotel Dieu, p. 178.

[2] Talon's Report to Colbert, Oct. 4, 1665, N. Y. Colonial Documents, ix., p. 29. Canada Documents, ii., p. 47.

"But," he continues, "if his majesty wishes to make any thing out of Canada, it seems to me that he will not succeed, except by taking it out of the hands of the West India Company, and by granting the settlers great liberty of trade, excluding only foreigners. If, on the contrary, his majesty considers this country only as a place adapted for trade in furs and the sale of some products from his kingdom, the emolument that can result from it is not worth his application, and very little deserves yours. In that case, it would be more advantageous to leave the whole direction to the company, in the same manner that it has that of the West Indies. The king, adopting this course, may depend on ruining the colony; for on the first declaration that the company made, that it will suffer no freedom of trade, nor permit the settlers to import goods from France on their own account, all revolted. The company by this conduct will profit greatly by impoverishing the country; and will not only deprive it of means of subsistence, but will prove a serious obstacle to its settlement."[1]

Garakonthié at Quebec.

At the close of December, Mr. de Tracy having returned to Quebec, Garakonthié arrived there with deputies from his own canton, as well as from Cayuga and Seneca. He made that general some fine presents, and assured him of the perfect submission of the three Cantons. He spoke with modesty, yet with dignity, of the services which he had rendered to the French; then, in the manner of the country, he bewailed the death of Father le Moyne, recently deceased, and for whom the Iroquois nation has preserved a high esteem. On this topic Garakonthié made such touching and intelligent remarks, as to surprise extremely the Viceroy and all present. He concluded

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[1] See Talon's Report, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., 29–36; Can. Doc., I., i., p. 47. The part quoted is not an exact transcript.

1666. by asking peace, and liberty for all the prisoners taken by us from the three Cantons, since the last exchange.[1]

War against the Mohawks and Oneidas determined on.

De Tracy heard him affably, and manifested to him, both in public and private, great friendship: he granted all his requests on very reasonable conditions, and dismissed him, as well as his fellow-deputies, loaded with presents.[2] The silence of the Mohawks and Oneidas, and still more their past conduct, left no doubt as to their ill-will; and it was resolved to march as soon as possible, to teach them that the French were in a position to punish their insults and perfidy. Two corps of troops were sent to give them chase, and Mr. de Courcelles resolved to lead the first, as being the more considerable. The second marched under Mr. de Sorel.[1]

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[1] There seems a confusion as to the date of this embassy. Charlevoix here says late in December. The Relation de la N. F., 1666, p. 5, says October; but Father Le Mercier, in his Journal, under date of Dec. 4, announces the arrival of Mr. Le Moyne, with seven Onondagas and one Oneida, Garakonthié and Grande Gueule being subsequently mentioned. He also mentions receiving intelligence of the death of Father Simon le Moyne at Cap de la Magdelaine, Nov. 24, 1665, at 5 A. M., aged 61. He then speaks of their making the presents and being feasted. The N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 37, give the explanation of the eleven presents of the ambassadors under date Dec. 1, 1665. The treaty December 13, 1665, N. Y. Col. Doc., iii., pp. 121–5, is the first formal treaty between the French and Indians. Simon le Moyne entered the Society of Jesus in 1623, came to Canada in 1638, and was, as we have seen, the first who succeeded in establishing a mission among the Iroquois, among whom he went repeatedly: Carayon, Documents Inedits, xiv., pp. 113, 132, and notes of Rev. F. Martin. Garakonthié's apostrophe to him was as follows: "Ondessonk, dost thou hear me from the land of souls, to which thou hast passed so quickly? It was thou who didst so often lay thy head on the scaffolds of the Mohawks; thou who hast gone so bravely into their very fires to rescue so many of the French; thou who didst bear peace and tranquillity wherever thou didst pass, and hast made believers wherever thou didst dwell. We have seen thee on our council-mats decide peace and war; our cabins became too small when thou didst enter, and our very villages were too contracted when thou wast there, so great was the crowd drawn by thy words. But I disturb thy rest by my importunate words. Thou hast so often taught us that this life of misery is followed by one of eternal bliss, now that thou enjoyest it what reason have we for grief? But we deplore thee, because in losing thee we have lost our father and our protector. Nevertheless we will be consoled because thou continuest to be so in heaven, and because thou hast found in that abode of bliss the infinite joy of which you have so often spoken to us:" Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1665, p. 5.

[2] Relation de la N. F., 1666, p. 6.

The Oneidas submit.

The canton of Oneida, alarmed at these preparations, dispatched deputies to Quebec to avert the menacing storm. From some memoirs, it would seem that these deputies had full power to act in the name of the Mohawks;[2] but the latter still had war-parties in the field, and one of these surprised and killed three officers, Messieurs de Chasy, Chamat, and Marin; the first, a nephew of de Tracy. It was not, however, this untoward accident, but the brutality of a Mohawk chief, that absolutely broke off the negotiation commenced by the Oneida deputies.[3]

Brutality of a Mohawk chief punished on the spot.

Mr. de Sorel, when on the point of falling upon a Mohawk town, met a troop of warriors headed by the Flemish Bastard. He was about to attack them, when the Mohawk chief, seeing himself greatly inferior to the French, and with no means of escape, adopted the plan of advancing to Sorel and telling him, with a very confident air, that he was going to Quebec to treat of peace with Mr. de Tracy. Sorel believed him, and himself took him to the viceroy, who received him well.[4] Another Mohawk chief arrived

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[1] January 9, 1666: Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1666, p. 6; Le Mercier, Journal.

[2] This was much later. The Oneida ambassadors arrived July 6, with letters from the Dutch: Le Mercier, Journal; Rel., 1666, p. 7. They had audience on the 8th. Some were detained as hostages. Father Beschefer was sent as ambassador to Orange, accompanied by Mr. de la Tesserie as interpreter and Boquet as assistant: Le Mercier, Journal, July 8. This embassy was arrested by the murder of the officers: Ib., July 20.

[3] There is some confusion as to these officers. Le Mercier, Journal, July 20, says M. de Chasy and two others killed, and four taken, including Mr. de Leroles, de Tracy's cousin. The Relation, p. 7, makes those killed the Sieurs de Traversay and de Chusy. Talon's Memoir, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 53, says deaths of Chazy and Travery, and of Chamot and Morin. De la Potherie, Hist. de l'Amérique Septentrionale, ii., p. 85, says de Chasi, de Lerole, and de Montagny; Perrot, p. 111., de Chasy killed, and de Noirolle taken. Faillon, Histoire de la Colonie Française, iii., p. 135, says Mr. de Roles. See N. Y. Col. Doc., iii., p. 134.

[4] Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1666, p. 7; Talon in N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 53; Le Mercier, Journal, Aug. 28, 1666.

1666. at Quebec a few days after, and gave himself out also as a deputy from his canton. No doubt was now entertained but that the Mohawks were really disposed to peace; but one day, when de Tracy had invited the two pretended deputies to his table, the conversation turning on the death of Mr. de Chasy, the Mohawk chief, raising his arm, exclaimed: "This is the arm that tomahawked that young officer." The indignation of all present may be imagined. The Viceroy told the insolent savage that he would never kill another, and had him strangled on the spot by the executioner, in presence of the Flemish Bastard, whom he retained as a prisoner.[1]

Courcelle's expedition against the Mohawks.

On the other hand, Mr. de Courcelles, in ignorance of what was passing at the capital, had entered the Mohawk canton:[2] but before commencing hostilities, he deemed it advisable to have an interview with the commandant of Corlar,[3] a town in New York, and he got a promise from that officer that he would give no aid to the Iroquois. He suffered greatly on this march, which he made in midwinter, on snow-shoes, himself carrying his provisions and arms, like the humblest of the soldiers, several of whom, recently arrived from France, were crippled by frost. A little greater experience would have taught him that, while he took a useless precaution at such great cost, he missed his blow. He soon perceived it, for on entering the Mohawk canton, he found the villages entirely deserted; the children, women, and old men had been placed in safety in the woods, and all the warriors had marched against other nations, while awaiting the issue of the negotiations begun by the Oneidas. There were, nevertheless, some night skirmishes between our men and Mohawk runners, some of whom were killed and others taken: not a Frenchman was wounded; but an officer and four or five soldiers were lost on this expedition by some unexplained accident.[1]

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[1] Charlevoix here follows Perrot, Mœurs et Coustumes, p. 113, and de la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale, ii., p. 85. The Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1666, Le Mercier's Journal, and M. Mary of the Incarnation have nothing of the kind, as to the dinner scene and hanging of Agariata. September 6, the Journal mentions the arrival of Cousture with two Mohawks, one of them "a Neuter, chief of the brigade that killed de Chasy." M. Marie de l'Incarnation, in her letter of Nov. 12, 1666, mentions de Tracy's hanging one as an infractor of the peace.

[2] This is all misplaced. De Courcelle set out January 9, 1666, and was at Quebec again March 17, 1666 (Le Mercier, Journal), long before the death of de Chasy and the events to which it led.

[3] Corlar is Schenectady, and was so called from Arendt Van Curler, whom the Indians regarded as the ruler of the Dutch: O'Callaghan, New Netherland, i., p. 322. Colden, in his Five Nations (1727), seems signally ignorant as to him.

De Tracy marches against the same canton.

On his return, Mr. de Courcelles found the preparations for the expedition against the Oneidas and Mohawks greatly advanced. Six hundred soldiers of the Carignan regiment, a like number of Canadians, and about a hundred Indians of different nations, composed the army of Mr. de Tracy, who, in spite of his more than threescore and ten, resolved to command in person. Two field-pieces constituted all his artillery; but this was enough to force

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[1] For de Courcelle's expedition, see Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1666, p. 6; Le Mercier, Journal, Jan. 9, 1666; Dollier de Casson, Histoire du Montreal (MS.); De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Am. Septent., ii., p. 85; A Relation of the Governor of Canada, his March, N. Y. Col. Doc., iii., p. 118; Letter of Gov. Nicolls, Ib., p. 133; Colden's Five Nations, edition 1727, p. 22. The expedition set out from Quebec, Jan. 9, 1666, Mr. de Courcelle in command; du Gas, his lieutenant: 300 regulars, 200 provincial volunteers. All were mounted on snow-shoes, and suffered greatly: Relation, 1666, p. 6. He reached Three Rivers on the 16th, and left on the 18th. On the 29th he left Fort St. Louis with 500 or 600 men (Le Mercier, Journal), and Fort St. Teresa next day: Ib. The route thence is not told. Courcelle depended on Algonquin guides, but they disappointed him; and he came out near Schenectady, where he surprised two Indian cabins. A skirmish ensued, in which four Mohawks and six Frenchmen were killed, including Lieutenant Sieur Aiguemorte: Perrot, Mœurs et Coustumes des Sauvages, p. 111. Sunday was spent in conference with the Dutch commander; and towards evening he began his homeward march, on which 60 died of hunger: Le Mercier, Journal, March 17, 1666. His surprise at finding the country in the hands of the English doubtless disconcerted his plans. The English account says he lost eleven killed and seven wounded, and puts the Mohawk loss at three killed and six wounded: N. Y. Doc. History, i., p. 50. The Mohawk and Oneida braves were chiefly away, though Colden says Van Curler diverted them from following the French.

1666. any Iroquois intrenchment. At the moment of his marching, new deputies reached Quebec from the two cantons: he retained them as prisoners, and at once put his army in motion, on the 14th of September.[1]

Mr. de Courcelles led the van, composed of 400 men Mr. de Tracy was with the main body, having with him the Chevalier de Chaumont, and a number of officers. Captains Sorel and Berthier commanded the rearguard.[2] No provisions were taken except enough to reach the enemy's country, where they expected to find sufficient; but as their stock was not economically managed, they had still a long distance to march when provisions totally failed. The army was ready to disband in search of food, when it entered a chestnut wood, which gave them means of subsisting till they reached the first Iroquois villages.[3]

Result of his expedition.

The viceroy had indulged the hope of surprising these Indians; but some Algonquins, who had in a disorderly manner taken the lead, gave the alarm; so that there remained in the towns only a small number of old men and women,[4] who had been unable to accompany the rest in their flight. The army entered the first town in order of battle, standards displayed and drums beating. All the

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[1] Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1666, p. 8. May 25, 1666, treaty with the Senecas: N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 44. July 7, 1666, a treaty was made with the Oneidas: N. Y. Doc. History, i., p. 52. Fort St. Anne was erected on an island in Lake Champlain, July, 1666, and soon after de Chasy, etc., were killed. On this, de Tracy prepared for a campaign. On the 31st of August a council was held, with deputies from all the cantons; yet de Tracy set out Sept. 14, with 1,400 men, and on the 3-4 Oct. finally left Fort St. Anne: Le Mercier, Journal; Relation de la N. F., 1666, p. 8; Perrot, Mœurs et Coustumes, p. 113.

[2] The Relation de la N. F., 1666, p. 8, says Chambly and Berthier. Mr. de Repentigny commanded the provincials of Quebec, Le Moyne those of Montreal: M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Lettres, p. 613; Dollier de Casson, Hist. de Montreal.

[3] M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Lettres Oct. 16 and Nov. 12, 1666; Lettres, p. 613; Choix de Lettres, pp. 325, 329. Dollier de Casson, Histoire de Montreal, gives details as to the suffering caused by the want of provisions.

[4] Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1666, p. 8; De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale, ii., p. 84.

1666.

Indians remaining there were made prisoners, and provisions were found in abundance. This canton was then apparently richer than it has been since. They found well-built cabins neatly adorned. Some were a hundred and twenty feet long, and wide in proportion, all covered with boards within and without.[1]

The soldiers, searching on all sides, found also depositories dug in the ground in the Indian fashion, which were so stocked with grain, that it would have supported the colony for two years. The first towns were reduced to ashes. The two others were a little further off; but an Algonquin squaw, who had long been a slave in that canton, acted as guide.[2] The nearest was also found tenantless, and it was only in the last that the enemy was finally met. They had felt assured that the French would not venture to come thither in search of them, and the extraordinary display with which they beheld the French approach, alarmed them. Not daring to await an attack, they fled to the shelter of places where it was impossible to follow them. The French revenged themselves on the cabins, and not one was left standing in the whole canton.[3]

He did not secure the country.

It is certain that if a panic had not seized these savages, the French army would have found itself in a very critical position; but their heads were turned, and they neither thought of profiting by the advantage which the situation

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[1] Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1666, p. 8; N. Y. Documentary Hist., i., p. 48; M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Lettre Nov. 12, 1666; Choix de Lettres, p. 329. They reached this town on St. Teresa's day, October 15. Its name is not given, nor that of the second and third: De la Potherie, Hist. de l'Am. Sept., ii., 84.

[2] Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1666, p. 9; N. Y. Documentary History, i., p. 49.

[3] This fourth town had a triple palisade twenty feet high, with four bastions; was well supplied with provisions, and water in bark tanks. They had evidently resolved to make a stand here, and had just burnt two Indian prisoners at the stake: Relation de la N. F., 1666, p. 9; M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Choix de Lettres, p. 332. At this last town Andaraque (Andaȣague), a formal act was made of the taking possession of five forts, dated Oct. 17, 1666. See act, N. Y. Documentary History, i., p. 53; N. Y. Colonial Doc., iii., p. 135; Juchereau, Histoire de l'Hotel-Dieu, p. 183, and the previous authorities name three villages.

1666. and knowledge of the country afforded them, nor of burning what grain they could not carry away.[1] On the other hand, Mr. de Tracy did not deem it proper to make sure of them by a good fort: he only wished to humble them, and teach them that the French were able to subdue them if they chose, and he succeeded. Convinced, moreover, that by means of the forts which he had erected on the river Sorel, he had sufficiently shielded the colony from inroads of the Iroquois, he judged it more advisable to fortify and increase the establishments on the St. Lawrence; and this was all that he could do with the troops at his disposal.

The court does not wish the colony too greatly extended.

This was one of the points most expressly recommended to de Courcelles and Talon. "One of the things which has proved the greatest obstacle to the peopling of Canada," said Mr. Colbert in the instructions which he gave to the Intendant, "has been, that the settlers planted their habitations where they pleased, and without taking the precaution of adjoining each other, to give mutual aid and succor. Hence these settlements, being scattered on all sides, found themselves exposed to the ambuscades of the Iroquois. For this reason, the king, two years since, issued a decree of his council, which commanded that thenceforward no land should be cleared except in the immediate vicinity of former clearings; and that the settlements should, as far as possible, be reduced to the form of our parishes. This decree has remained ineffectual, because to bring the settlers into villages, would subject them to make new clearings and abandon their old farms. Still, as it was an evil to which a remedy was to be sought, his majesty left it to the prudence of the Sieur Talon to consult with the Sieur de Courcelles and the officers of the Sovereign Council as to the means of carrying out his wishes."[2]

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[1] M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Lettre Nov. 12, 1666.

[2] Colbert to Talon, N. Y. Col. Doc. ix., p. 27.

It was undoubtedly objectionable for colonists to settle thus in spots so remote from each other that they were not within reach to afford mutual assistance in case of attack; but the shortest method of remedying it was apparently to fortify the frontier of the country well against the actual enemies, and those whom it was easy to foresee they could not fail to have sooner or later to contend with. The regulation here spoken of by Colbert was re-enacted more than once, but always ineffectually. Interest, more powerful than fear, has often induced individuals to place themselves in the most exposed spots, where advantages for trade blinded them to the peril, nor has the most disastrous experience taught them wisdom.[1]

To return to Mr. de Tracy. He would have been glad to treat the canton of Oneida as he had just treated that of Mohawk; but the end of October approached, and however little he might defer his homeward march, he would run the risk of finding the rivers frozen, and being harassed in his retreat by an enemy whom he had provoked without greatly enfeebling. Already, even, the roads were bad enough; the troops suffered much, and one officer, with some soldiers, was drowned in Lake Champlain.[2]

The Viceroy, on his arrival in Quebec,[3] hung two or three of his prisoners as an example, and sent all the rest home with the Flemish Bastard, after showing them much kindness.[4] A few days later he was informed that the Sieur de la Vallière, who commanded on Isle Royal, Cape Breton, was attacked by the English.[5] This is all that I can

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[1] Edits et Ordonnances, i., p. 31.

[2] Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1666, p. 3; M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Lettre Nov. 12, 1666. The officer lost was a lieutenant, Sieur de Luques.

[3] He reached Quebec Nov. 5, 1666: Le Mercier, Journal.

[4] M. Marie de l'Incarnation mentions the hanging of one. See ante, III., p. 88; Perrot, Mœurs, etc., p. 114.

[5] Cape Breton was discovered by the Bretons at an early date, and took its name from them. It was constantly visited by French vessels, and a sort of trading-post was long maintained here. The Jesuits had missions there from 1629 to about this time: Relation, 1635, p. 42; Ib., 1659, p. 7. It was included in Cromwell's grant of Acadia to Temple in 1656, recognized by Charles II., but

1666. learn concerning it. I only know that our settlement on that island was then insignificant, and that it was entirely abandoned a few years afterwards.

Mr. de Tracy returns to France. 1667.

As soon as navigation was free, Mr. de Tracy sailed back to France,[1] and the last act of authority which he exercised in America was to establish the West India Company in all the rights which the Company of a Hundred Associates had enjoyed.[2] Much was expected from the former company; but it did not take the interests of New France more to heart than the previous company had done, as Mr. Talon had foreseen. However, as the re-enforcement received by Canada in the last few years had been put on a pretty good footing, it maintained itself so for some time; nor did it subsequently relapse into the state of weakness and exhaustion from which the king had just drawn it.

Change in affairs in regard to religion.

The humiliation of the Iroquois was a favorable conjuncture, of which they might avail themselves to induce that nation and all the others to show docility to the instructions of the missionaries: and policy concurred with religion not to allow it to escape; but manners changed in the colony, as they deemed themselves more secure: that zeal for the conversion of the heathen which had hitherto seemed to animate all the settlers almost as much as the evangelical laborers, gradually cooled in the former, nor did the latter always find now in the authorities the

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was restored to France by the treaty of Breda, July 31, 1667: Memoires sur les Possessions, iii., pp. 292, 558. Denys, however, commanded for the French in 1659 (Relation, p. 7); but France did not recover possession till 1670: O'Callaghan, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 75. According to Pichon (Lettres et Memoires, pour servir à l'Histoire du Cap Breton—La Haye, 1760, p. 1), the island was first called Isle du Cap, then Isle du Havre à l'Anglois. Down to 1713 it was called Cap Breton; it was then styled Isle Royale, but the old name still lives. As to the attack on the Sieur de la Valliere, I find nothing.

[1] He did not leave the colony till Aug. 28, 1667—nearly a year after his campaign: Le Mercier, Journal, Aug. 28, 1667; Juchereau, Histoire de l'Hotel-Dieu, p. 187.

[2] Requête de Mr. Le Barroys à Mgr. de Tracy, Edits et Ordonnances, i., pp. 51–60. De Tracy's consent to the Requête is dated Sept. 11, 1666.

1667.

support which their predecessors had always afforded. So that they beheld themselves almost reduced to regret those days of storm and calamity, where life and liberty hung by a thread, and when their blood, mingling with their sweat, visibly multiplied Christians.[1]

Relaxation spread to the neophytes, though its progress was at first almost insensible. Several Indian towns maintained their primitive fervor as long as they subsisted; but disease having soon depopulated some, others having scattered without any ascertainable cause, no steps were taken to restore them. Among the French, at the time I speak of, piety had been so well established after the earthquake, some shocks of which were felt in 1665, attended with meteors which always alarm the multitude, however natural they may be, as to excite the admiration of those who arrived from France in the following years.[2]

It was even remarked that, among the new-comers, the most dissolute could not long resist the virtuous example constantly before their eyes, and that at the end of six months some were no longer recognizable, and did not recognize themselves. The soldiers spoke of the war against the Iroquois only as of a holy war, on the success of which depended the conversion of the heathen. Two ecclesiastics and two Jesuits,[3] who accompanied Mr. de Tracy in his expedition, declared, on their return, that many conventual establishments were not either better regulated or more edifying than this little army had been.

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[1] The introduction of a body of soldiers, and of colonists taken up at random, together with the hostile attitude of those in authority to the clergy, tended all to weaken the former piety. Greater laxity was introduced, and favored by those in authority. The first ball in Canada took place Feb. 4, 1667. A general relaxation ensued, and crime increased: Faillon, iii., p. 383.

[2] Relation, 1665, pp. 23–4; Lalemant, Journal, Nov., 1664, Avril, 1665; Le Mercier, Journal, Oct. 15, 1666, April 13, 1668; M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Lettre Sept. 1, 1668.

[3] The chaplains were the Abbé du Bois, an army chaplain, who came with the troops from France (Le Mercier, Journal, Aug. 19, 1665); Dollier de Casson, of St. Sulpice, author of a History of Montreal; and the Jesuits Albanel and Raffeix: Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1666, p. 9.

1667. And it had a leader whose Christian virtues would have done honor to the most perfect religious. He left ineffaceable marks in New France, and an odor of piety, the impression of which still subsists.[1]

The whole island of Montreal resembled a religious community. From the outset, special care had been taken to receive only settlers of exemplary piety. They were, moreover, the most exposed of all to the inroads of the Iroquois, and, like the Israelites on their return from their captivity at Babylon, they had been compelled, while building their houses and clearing their grounds, to have almost always their implements in one hand and their arms in the other, to defend themselves against an enemy who made war only by surprise. Thus the alarms which kept them constantly in fear, had served greatly to preserve their innocence and render their piety more solid.[2]

Desire of Frenchifying the Indians.

Amid so many subjects of consolation, one thing gave the missionaries extreme anxiety. Nothing had been more impressed on Mr. Talon than the importance of inducing those religious to instruct the Indian children in the French language, and accustom them to our mode of life.

I have heretofore remarked that the missionaries themselves had entertained this idea several years before; and I add, that it was not so much the difficulties encountered in executing the project as the bad effects which they had perceived after the first attempts of this education, that had induced them to abandon it. They explained these results to Mr. Talon, when that magistrate communicated to them the orders of the council on the subject; but their representations were ill received, and ascribed to a desire of being sole masters of the Indians, and thereby rendering themselves always necessary.[1]

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[1] Le Mercier, Journal, March 17, 30, August 6, 17, 1666. Dollier de Casson, born about 1620, had been a captain in Turenne's cavalry, where he displayed a courage equal to his immense strength; for he is said to have been able to hold a man seated on each hand: Faillon, Histoire de la Colonie Française, iii., p. 151. He came to Canada about 1665. In 1670 he explored Lake Ontario. He was Superior of the Sulpitians at Montreal till 1676, when ill-health compelled him to return to France. On his recovery he resumed his office at Montreal, and died Sept. 25, 1701: Faillon, Vie de M. Bourgeoys, i., p. lxvii., etc. His History of Montreal, covering the first thirty years, was written in 1673, and is now in the Mazarine Library.

[2] Dollier de Casson states that the Montreal soldiers, as the most expert, formed the van on the outward and the rear on the homeward march, both on de Courcelle's and on Tracy's expedition: Faillon, Histoire de la Col. Française, iii., p. 149.

Why the project did not succeed.

To show them that they were not, the Intendant resolved to do without them in the matter, and applied to the Bishop of Petræa and the ecclesiastics of Montreal, who promised to do what the court desired; but the fruitlessness of their efforts soon justified the missionaries, and the Marquis de Tracy, in the sequel, contributed not a little to dispel the prejudices against them, with which that minister had been imbued. He had heard the project in question spoken of when he was on the spot: he had comprehended as well as the Jesuits did, how impracticable and dangerous it was; and although Mr. de Courcelles and Mr. Talon persisted in their preconceived ideas, Colbert, who at last saw the injustice of it, sincerely extended his friendship to those missionaries, for whom he had always entertained a cordial esteem; he declared himself their protector on all occasions, and to the close of his life manifested a perfect confidence in all that concerned the exercise of their functions.[2]

Meanwhile, Mr. Talon was daily devising new means for making New France flourish by commerce. This required the finding of returns proportioned to the advances made

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[1] Colbert's correspondence, N. Y. Col. Doc., pp. 55, 59, 62; but see Denonville, ib., p. 277; Dussieux, Le Canada, p. 39.

[2] The efforts for the education of Indian youth have almost always failed. Amherst College is an example. The Petit Seminaire, which has since grown into the University Laval, rose from this attempt. It commenced Oct. 9, 1668, with six Huron and eight French pupils: Noms de ceux qui sont entrés au Petit Seminaire, MS., L'Abeille, vol. ii., No. 13, i., No. 26. The Jesuits received some Algonquins, the Sulpitians did the same, while the Ursulines and Congregation Sisters undertook the same for the girls: Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1668, pp. 3, 31; M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Lettre Sept. 27, 1670; Faillon, Histoire de la Col. Française, iii., pp. 270–287; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 69.

1667. to sustain it, and to the opinion of the goodness of the country which he had himself given to the court. He had Iron mines. especially at heart the iron mines, which were said to be very abundant, and, on his voyage back from France, he had landed at Gaspé, where, on the assurance of some travellers, he hoped to find silver; but he was soon undeceived.[1] He was more successful in regard to iron. In the month of August, 1666, he had sent the Sieur de la Tesserie to the Bay of St. Paul, where that miner discovered a mine which seemed to him very rich: he even hoped to find copper there, and perhaps silver. In the journal which he made of his voyage, he remarked that, wherever he made investigations, the earth was disturbed by the earthquake of 1663.[2]

1668. Mr. Talon, having returned to France in 1668, induced Colbert to follow up these discoveries, and the Sieur de la Potardiere was sent to Canada with this view. On his arrival at Quebec they presented to him specimens of two ores that Mr. de Courcelles had ordered from the neighborhood of Champlain and Cap de la Magdelaine, two parishes below Three Rivers. One was sand, and the other solid ore; la Potardiere went to the spots, and on his return to Quebec declared that it was impossible to see mines which gave better promise either for the quality or the quantity of the iron.[3]

Much hope was also entertained from a tannery, the first attempt of which had been crowned with perfect success. This, joined to the freedom of trade proclaimed this same year, 1668, inspired those who took an interest in Canada with great hopes. Nor is it very easy to understand what dissipated them. It is at least certain that these iron mines, which the piercing eye of Mr. Colbert and the vigilance of Mr. Talon had discovered, after having almost entirely disappeared for more than seventy years, have just been rediscovered by the care of those who now occupy their places, and who resemble them too much not to give grounds to hope that they will enter into their views.[1]

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[1] Talon to the Minister, October 4, 1665, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 30–1. It was on his voyage out from France, not *back* from France.

[2] The report of de la Tesserie, which Charlevoix seems to have had, does not appear in any collection.

[3] La Potardière's report is also inaccessible. Besides these iron mines, the Jesuits called attention to the slate quarries near Lake George (Rel. de la Nouvelle France, 1668, p. 5), and the copper mines of Lake Superior: Boucher, Histoire Veritable, p. 165; Relation, 1670, pp. 83–6; Ib., 1672, p. 2. Talon gave a great impulse to manufactures, by introducing cattle and inducing the cultivation of flax and hemp, as well as spinning and weaving. Tanneries and breweries were established at Quebec and Montreal.

1668.

Freedom of trade proclaimed in Canada.

While these things were passing in the centre of the colony, new missions were formed towards Lake Superior. Very shortly after the tidings of Father Mesnard's death reached Quebec, the same Ottawas with whom that missionary had set out returned laden with furs; and as they still persisted in their design of attracting Frenchmen to their country, in order to save themselves the trouble of making such long journeys, they again asked for a Jesuit, convinced that several Frenchmen would accompany those Fathers.[2]

New voyages in the west and north.

1665-7.

The sad fate of the two former, Fathers Garreau and Mesnard, who had been given to them; the unworthy manner in which both, and especially the latter, were known to have been treated; the slight hope of producing any result among them; as well as their motive in making the request, should, it would seem, have precluded the Superior-General of the missions from listening to them; but apostolic men are not always guided by the rules of ordinary prudence; and as they are the instruments of Grace, which never tires knocking at the door of hearts the most deaf and rebellious to its voice, they never believe themselves permitted to neglect occasions of corresponding to it; they even hope against all hope, that it will triumph in the end.

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[1] Charlevoix, Journal, p. 113. The mine near Three Rivers was worked extensively a few years later. See report, 1750, N. Y. Col. Doc., vi., p. 581.

[2] They reached Montreal July 20, 1665 (Relation de la N. F., 1665, p. 8), to the number of 400: Le Mercier, Journal, Aug., 1665.

1665. Father Claude Allouez, accordingly, offered to follow these savages. His offer was accepted;[1] and it was well that he had prepared himself for any event. He could scarcely have met worse treatment at the hands of his conductors had he been their slave; those who had received him into their canoe, one day even left him on the shore. But they were punished on the spot. Scarcely had they re-embarked, when their canoe capsized and all were drowned. The servant of God would have reckoned as naught all this ill treatment, could he have succeeded in opening the eyes of these heathen to their ridiculous superstitions; but he soon perceived that he had to deal with a perverse nation, whose hardness of heart naught could soften.

Claude Allouez.

Superstitions of the Ottawas.

A barrel of powder, which they had brought from Quebec, having one day caught fire, several were wounded. In default of human remedies, they had recourse to the sun. The medicine-men assembled, and got up a kind of festival, which began by chants, accompanied by much extravagant action: one would have deemed them a troop of madmen. And this scene, which inspired an indescribable horror, lasted quite a long time. At last, ten or twelve of the more considerable among them sat in a circle around a little fire; they uttered loud cries, and constantly looked up to the sun, to which they seemed to offer the flame or smoke of the fire. At last the oldest of the party rose, and, turning towards that luminary, conjured it with a loud voice to restore health to the sick.[2]

It was all in vain. The sun healed no one. Then the missionary, unable to tolerate this impiety, accosted the boldest of the party, and spoke to him so plainly, that one of the sick was struck by his words, and at once invoked the God of the Christians, recognizing Him as the only

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[1] He set out from Three Rivers Aug. 7, 1665 (Le Mercier, Journal), or rather August 8: Relation de la N. F., 1667, p. 4. No tidings were received from him for two years (Rel., 1666, p. 3), and he at last returned Aug. 4, 1667: Le Mercier, Journal.

[2] Relation de la N. F., 1667, p. 7.

1667.

divinity who was worthy to be invoked, and as the sovereign master of health and sickness; but the idolater whom the missionary had apostrophized, broke out into such a fury against him, that one would have thought that he was going to sacrifice him to the sun. Nevertheless, it ended simply in burning the canoe that had brought him.[1]

Dangers and hardships encountered by Father Allouez in this voyage.

The first of September they reached Sault St. Marie,[2] which, as has been already observed, is the strait by which Lake Superior empties into Lake Huron. Father Allouez did not halt here; he spent the whole month of September in exploring the southern shore of Lake Superior. On his way he met several Christians, baptized by Father Mesnard, who were delighted to see him, and whom he confirmed in the faith. He also had the consolation of securing by baptism the eternal salvation of several dying children; and on the first of October he arrived at Chagouamigon.[3] There he was received at a large town, where they reckoned at least eight hundred warriors of different nations: he began his labors by erecting a chapel there, which was soon frequented by quite a large number of proselytes.

The first who sought and received baptism was the wounded man who, on the voyage, touched by his remonstrances, had renounced superstitious remedies, which they had begun to apply to him. He had been cured, after invoking the God of the Christians, and he entertained no doubt that he was indebted for his health to Him alone. An assembly was then held of ten or twelve nations, all understanding the Algonquin language; and the apostolic man, who was well versed in that language, did not lose so favorable an opportunity of exercising his zeal. He spoke at length of the Christian religion, in an animated and pathetic manner, suited, however, to the capacity of

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[1] Relation de la N. F., 1667, p. 7. He broke the missionary's canoe to pieces: Ib.

[2] Vers le commencement de Septembre: Relation de la N. F., 1667, p. 7.

[3] He mentions the copper seen on the way: Relation, 1667, pp. 8, 9.

1667. his hearers. He was greatly applauded, but this was all the fruit which he derived from it.[1]

Belief of the Ottawas

Besides the obstacle to the efficacy of the word of God raised by the harsh and fierce disposition of the Indians of those parts, the missionary found them all as superstitious as the Ottawas. He relates, in his letters, that passing one day through a village of the latter nation, he saw an idol erected in the middle of the square, and all the people engaged in sacrificing dogs to it, to obtain the cure of a contagious disease, of which several had already died. Some also brought offerings for other necessities; and besides these public sacrifices, private ones were also made in the cabins. But the missionary does not explain what this divinity was, and perhaps he could not learn any thing certain in regard to it.[2]

When the Ottawas are overtaken by a storm, while crossing these lakes, they kill a dog or some other animal and throw it into the water, saying to the god of the lake: "Be appeased; here is my dog that I give thee." At first the neophytes did the same thing in honor of the true God; and it cost no little pains to persuade them that He did not wish to be adored in that manner. The blindness of these people went so far as to believe that the sun was a man, but of a kind far superior to us, and that the moon was his wife. They said the same of ice and snow, who, they pretended, went during summer to reside in another country.[3]

They also imagined that birds had a language of their own, which some men understood: their medicine-men, apparently, making them believe that they possessed the key. They said that the soul of a dead fish entered the body of another fish. Accordingly, they did not burn the bones for fear of offending their souls, and preventing the fish from allowing themselves to be taken in their nets.[1] They held, also, in singular veneration a certain extraordinary animal which several declared that they had seen in dreams, but the figure of which they were nevertheless unable to describe. Some confounded it with Mirabichi, the God of the waters, whose fabulous and ridiculous story varies according to the different nations that recognize it.[2]

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[1] At this assembly he delivered three presents in the name of de Tracy—first, that he was going to punish the Iroquois; second, that he would force the Sioux to peace; and third, exhorting them to embrace Christianity: Relation, 1665, p. 9; 1667, p. 10.

[2] Relation de la N. F., 1667, p. 12.

[3] Ib.

Their manners and practices.

The worship connected with this extravagant belief, almost took the form of feasts, chants, dances, debauches, obscenities, where nothing was veiled. Polygamy, dissolution of marriages, debauchery in both sexes, prevailed among these Indians to that extent that, far from blushing at the most crying excesses, they even gave them a religious import. When an Indian asked any thing from his familiar genius, he fasted till he had had a dream, assuring him that he had obtained what he desired. In regard to diseases, the great principle of their physicians was, that they come, generally speaking, from a neglect to give a banquet after a hunting or fishing excursion.[3] Sometimes, nevertheless, they attributed them to an evil genius, which had sprung upon the affected part, and been sent by an enemy. The medicine-man called in to cure the disease, after having made his reflections, and many contortions, ordered a feast and retired, promising a speedy cure.[4]

There were, also, at Chagouamigon a great number of Huron Christians, whose faith want of instruction and privation of the sacraments had somewhat corrupted, and whose morals had suffered still more from contact with so many heathen nations. Father Allouez labored earnestly

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[1] Relation de la N. F., 1667, p. 12.

[2] Father Allouez calls it expressly Missibizi: Relation, 1667, p. 12. Perrot calls it "the great Tiger:" Mœurs, etc., p. 19. See also as to it, Relations Inédites, i., p. 117; Rel., 1672–3, p. 172; Rale in Lettres Edifiantes, vi., p. 173; De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Am. Sept., ii., p. 3.

[3] Relation de la N. F., 1667, p. 13.

[4] Father Allouez (Relation, 1667, p. 13) describes the well-known sucking of the affected part, and pretended extracting of a manitou.

1667.

Father Allouez and the Pouteouatamis.

to restore them to the true path, and succeeded.[1] Three hundred Pouteouatamis also came from their islands, where the whole nation had gathered.[2] As soon as they arrived, the missionary visited them, and was received with distinction, though in quite an odd style. In the first place, the leader of the band asked him for his shoes: the Father gave them, and the Indian, after considering them attentively, handed them back, observing that it was among them a mark of respect. All charmed Father Allouez by their gentle manners, and the instructions which he addressed to them were not useless.[3]

Among them was an old man, close on his hundredth year, and who was regarded in his nation as a divine man. He fasted, it was said, as much as twenty days at a time, without taking any thing, and often saw the Author of all things;[4] a term usually employed by these Indians to express the true God. He fell sick at Chagouamigon, and his life was soon despaired of. Two of his daughters who had been among the most assiduous auditors at the missionary's instructions, and had been touched by them, repeated to him all that they could recollect, and urged him to seek instruction himself. He consented. Father Allouez, notified by his two proselytes, paid him a visit, found him extremely docile, and, deeming him not long for this world, baptized him.

At this juncture the time for the Feast of Dreams[5] arrived. The dying man called the missionary, and begged of him a blue blanket. The missionary wished to know his object in making the request. "Because," he replied, "blue is the color of Heaven, whither I hope soon to go, and of which alone I wish henceforth to think;" and he died a few days after, saying, with great fervor of spirit, "Lord, I have begun very late to love thee."[1] Father Allouez prepared to inter him according to Christian usage, but was greatly surprised to see himself anticipated, and that they were burning the body. As this was not usual among the people, he asked the reason of this novelty.

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[1] Relation de la N. F., 1667, p. 15.

[2] The Relation de la N. F., 1667, p. 18, does not state that they lived on islands. "Their country is in the lake of the Ilinioüek." Their language was an Algonquin dialect, more difficult to understand than the Ottawa. Their original country was the lower peninsula of Michigan, from which they were driven as early as 1639: Rel., 1640, p. 35. They then settled on Huron island and the shores of Green Bay: Rel., 1670, p. 95.

[3] The chief asked to look at his shoes from curiosity; and when that was gratified, replaced them with every mark of respect: Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1667, p. 18.

[4] The Maker of the Earth: Rel. de la N. F., 1667, p. 18.

[5] See Perrot, pp. 14, 171.

An Indian, with a very serious air, replied: "Because the deceased's father was a hare, who one day said to his wife, that he would take it amiss that his children should be put in the earth after their death, since they were of kin to the snow, which has a heavenly origin. He added, that if they ever acted contrary to his intentions on this point, he would pray the snow to fall in such great abundance, that there should be no spring that year." This reply at first made the missionary laugh, but when he endeavored to make those present see how absurd it was, all his efforts were unavailing.[2] The two daughters of the old man, who had so great a share in their father's conversion, received the same grace from Heaven, and persevered to the end in the practice of Christian virtues.[3]

Some hundred and twenty Outagamis,[4] two hundred Sakis,[5] and eighty Illinois,[6] about this time came to Cha-

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[1] Allouez does not say that the Indian asked him, but sent around through the lodges to get it. He is silent as to the conversation: Rel. de la N. F., 1667, p. 19.

[2] Allouez does not say that he attempted to give him burial: Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1667, p. 19. As to Michabou, the Great Hare, see Perrot, p. 3; De Smet's Oregon Missions, p. 343; De la Potherie, ii., p. 3.

[3] Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1667, p. 19.

[4] Relation de la N. F., 1667, p. 21. The Outagamis are the Foxes. They call themselves Musquakies (Red-earth): Wisconsin Hist. Coll., iii., p. 127; Charlevoix, Journal, p. 188. Allouez estimated them at 1,000 warriors. They were inland, south of Lake Superior, and had no canoes. See Perrot, p. 263.

[5] The Sakis or Sacs were originally near the Detroit river: Rel., 1676–7, p. 49; 1673–9, p. 29; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 161, 293.

[6] Allouez gives the name Illimouëc. See Wisconsin Hist. Coll., iii., p. 128; Perrot, p. 220; Charlevoix, Journal, p. 188.

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The Gospel preached to several nations.

gouamigon, and had some share in the blessings which Heaven shed on the labors of the apostolic man. The Illinois were already spoken of as a nation almost destroyed by the Iroquois;[1] nevertheless, fifty years afterwards, it still numbered forty thousand souls.[2] Father Allouez saw also at the same place some Sioux;[3] but he was able to treat with them only by means of interpreters: and the same thing happened to him with several other nations, whose names I find only in his memoirs. We, perhaps, now know them under other names, given by the tribes which lie nearer to us.[4]

The country of the Sioux.

The Sioux informed the missionary that their country was the extremity of the world towards the north;[5] but they apparently included under the name of Sioux all the nations who speak dialects of their language, especially the Assiniboils.[6] On the west they had as neighbors the Karesis,[7] beyond whom they said the land was cut off, and nothing was to be seen but Fetid Water, a term by which they designated the sea.[8] On the northwest they are bounded by nations that feed on human flesh, and sell it raw.[9] There is in the neighborhood of the Assiniboils a nation of which the same thing is said: but many people perish in that country by the teeth of a kind of bear of enormous size, with extremely long claws.[1]

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[1] Relation de la N. F., 1667, p. 22. Allouez here gives the earliest account of the Dance of the Calumet.

[2] Charlevoix, Journal, p. 183.

[3] He says they lay west, near the great river Messipi, 40 or 50 leagues from Chegoimegon, on the prairies, living in tents of skins, and subsisting on wild rice: Rel., 1667, p. 23.

[4] This is an error. Besides the tribes named by Charlevoix, Allouez mentions only the Assinipoualac (Assiniboins) and Nipissiriniens (Nipissings).

[5] He does not say "towards the North," but "as they express it:" Rel., 1667, p. 23.

[6] He mentions the Assiniboins under the name Assini poualac: Rel., 1667, p. 23. See Perrot, p. 232; Charlevoix, Journal, p. 184. Poualac (Ottawa, Bwan) was the name for the Dacotas, and Assini means Stone.

[7] Karezi: Relation, 1667, p. 23.

[8] Relation de la N. F., 1667, p. 23. Indians had an aversion to salt. The Winnebagos got their name, which was translated Fetid (Puant), from their having come from the salt water: Wisconsin Hist. Coll., iii., p. 137; De la Potherie, ii., p. 68.

[9] The Relation says nothing of cannibalism. "Beyond the north and west is found a nation that eats meat raw, contenting themselves with holding it in their hands and presenting it to the fire:" Ib., p. 23. Lower down he mentions a nation bordering on the Assinipoualac, who ate men and lived on raw meat.

The Cristinaux.

The Kilistinons or Cristinaux, whom our Canadians call Criques,[2] at that time made excursions to this extremity of Lake Superior, and Father Allouez, who saw several there, declares that they worship the sun, sacrificing to it dogs, which they hang on trees:[3] he adds that these Indians are great talkers, and speak very fast, contrary to the custom of all others of this continent; our voyageurs for this reason call them the *Gascons of Canada.*[4] Their language is an Algonquin dialect, closely resembling that of the Attikamegues.[5] This, with the fact that the latter name is that of a fish commonly called the whitefish, very abundant at the northern part of Lake Huron, may induce us to think that these Attikamegues formerly dwelt near the shores of Lake Superior.[6]

Various excursions of Father Allouez.

At the beginning of the year 1667, Father Allouez learned that the Nipissings, in great number, had retired to the shores of Lake Alimipegon,[7] which is north of Lake Superior and empties into it. Thither he proceeded, arriving early in June: he found these unfortunate fugitives, who were nearly all Christians, in the same state in which

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[1] Relation de la N. F., 1667, p. 24. Allouez represents it as all red.

[2] Now called Crees in English.

[3] Relation de la N. F., 1667, p. 24.

[4] The Relation, 1658, p. 21, divides the Crees into Alimibegouek, Kilistinons of Ataouabouscatouek Bay, Kilistinons of the Nipissings, and the Nisibourounik.

[5] Relation de la N. F., 1667, p. 24, adds the Indians of Tadoussac.

[6] The Attikamegues, when known to the French, resided back of Three Rivers: Relation de la N. F., 1636, p. 37; 1641, p. 32, etc. Baraga, in his Otchipwe-English Dictionary, gives Atikameg for White Fish, and calls the Crees Kinishtinon. House, in his Grammar of the Cree Language (London, 1844), p. 2, says their national name is Nehethowuck—exact beings or people; but this expression, Men, is so common that it cannot be considered the name, each tribe having another. Iriniwek or Iliniwek (Indians in Chippewa and Illinois) becomes in Cree Ethinuck, which is the main word in Nehethowuck. These Crees inhabit the territory drained by the rivers emptying into Hudson's Bay: House, p. 3; Relation, 1661, p. 12; Perrot, Mœurs et Coustumes, pp. 54, 91.

[7] Alimibegong: Rel., 1667, p. 25.

1667. he found the Hurons: and although he was extremely fatigued with a journey of five hundred leagues that he had made with two Indians, he at once put his hand to the work, and had the consolation of not laboring in vain.[1] Thence he resumed his course to Chagoimigon, and having formed the design of establishing a fixed mission here, he joined a great convoy of Ottawas, who were going to carry their furs to Montreal: thence he proceeded to Quebec, where he arrived in the month of August of the following year.[2]

He remained there only two days, and set out again with Father Louis Nicolas, whom he had induced to accompany him and share the hardships of his painful mission, a brother, and four mechanics. At Montreal they found the Ottawas, who were about to depart; but when they proposed to embark, these savages would receive into their canoes only the two missionaries, who did not hesitate to abandon themselves into their hands, alone, without provisions, without any prospect of deriving aid from their conductors, and with little to rely upon but Providence. We shall see in due time the result of their voyage.[3]

Missionaries among the Iroquois.

Meanwhile, the Iroquois cantons of Mohawk and Oneida had at last deemed that the wisest course for them was to make terms with the French. Soon after the departure of the Marquis de Tracy, they sent to Mr. de Courcelles deputies, who made their submission to that general, and solicited missionaries.[4] He obtained this favor for them,

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[1] He set out May 6, 1667, and reached the Nipissing town on the lake, June 3: Relation de la N. F., 1667, pp. 25–6.

[2] Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1667, p. 26, though Le Mercier, in his Journal, says Aug. 4: M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Lettres, p. 621.

[3] Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1667, p. 26. Father Louis Nicolas entered the Society of Jesus, in the province of Toulouse, Sept. 16, 1654; arrived in Canada May 1, 1664; labored in the West and in New York, and returned to France in 1675: Martin in Carayon, Documents Inédits, xiv., p. 115.

[4] The deputies arrived July 6, and made their presents on the 8th: Le Mercier, Journal. They were received by de Tracy (Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1667, p. 28), who did not sail till August 28: Le Mercier, Journal.

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although it had not yet been granted to the three other cantons, and the choice fell on Fathers Bruyas and Fremin.[1] Father Garnier, who was soon after sent to their assistance,[2] having gone to visit the Christians at Onondaga, was retained by Garakonthié, who built him a cabin and a chapel, and made him promise not to leave his canton till his own return from Quebec, for he was about to go there to solicit missionaries for his own canton, and that of Cayuga.

He, in fact, set out,[3] and returned some months after with Father de Carheil and Milet.[4] A considerable number of Iroquois, including many Christians, had settled at the western extremity of Lake Ontario, and the Bishop of Petræa deemed it his duty not to leave them without pastors: he accordingly sent to them Messieurs de Fenelon

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[1] James Bruyas arrived August 3, 1666, and after a long missionary career died among his Iroquois converts at Sault St. Louis in 1712. He wrote much on the Iroquois language. His Radices Verborem Iroquæorum, or Racines Agnieres, was published at New York in 1862. James Fremin arrived in 1654, and was employed in Cape Breton: he was at Onondaga in 1656. He died at Quebec July 20, 1692. John Pierron came June 27, 1667, and returned in 1678: Martin in Carayon, xiv., pp. 114–5. He had some skill in painting, which he used to advantage: Rel., 1669, p. 2; M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Lettres, p. 274. Father John Pierron is omitted here by Charlevoix. These missionaries set out July 17, 1667, and were detained a month and more at Fort St. Anne, in Lake Champlain: Relation de la N. F., 1667, p. 28; Le Mercier, Journal; Juchereau, Histoire de l'Hotel-Dieu, p. 184 (Strupas misprinted for Bruyas), leaving it on the 23d Aug.; Relation de la N. F., 1668, p. 4. They first reached Gandaouagué (Caughnawaga, the place of Jogues' death), and then proceeded to Teonnontoguen (Fort Hunter), capital of all that country, rebuilt about a quarter of a league from that destroyed by de Tracy. Bruyas proceeded to Oneida Sept., 1667. For their labors, see Relation, 1668, pp. 4–16; M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Lettres, p. 625.

[2] Julian Garnier was sent April 21, 1668. He came to Canada Oct. 27, 1662, completed his studies, and was ordained at Quebec. He was long on the mission, and died at Quebec in February, 1730.

[3] Garakonthié reached Quebec August 20, 1668. See Relation de la N. F., 1668, p. 17, for his presents and the reply to them.

[4] Relation de la N. F., 1668, p. 18; M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Lettres, p. 627. Stephen Carheil came Aug. 6, 1666, and after many labors died July 27, 1726. Peter Milet came in 1667, and died at Quebec Dec. 31, 1708.

1668. and Trouvé.[1] Thus, with the exception of the Seneca canton,[2] efforts were made to Christianize all this nation, which, more than any other in Canada, it was important to gain to Christ and dispose favorably to the French nation, both on account of the reputation which it had acquired for arms, and of the position of their country, which, in that direction, separated New France from the English colonies.[3]

What prevented the conversion of that nation.

As I had the happiness of living with most of those who labored most frequently to till that portion of the Lord's vineyard, which, notwithstanding their care, has remained wild and in its native state, I often inquired of some of them what had prevented the seed of the Word from taking root among a people whose intelligence, good sense, and noble sentiments were so much vaunted; all assured me that what did the greatest evil was their vicinity to the English and Dutch, whose want of piety, Christians as they professed to be, had made these Indians consider Christianity as an optional religion.

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[1] Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1668, pp. 20, 30; Lettres de Mission, in Faillon, Histoire, iii., p. 192. François Salagnac de la Motte Fenelon and Claude Trouvé were Sulpitians. The former has been confounded with his illustrious brother, the Archbishop of Cambray. Claude Trouvé was of the diocese of Tours, and came out with Fenelon June 27, 1667. Trouvé was only subdeacon, but was ordained priest August 11. M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Lettres, p. 652, praises Fenelon's humility in thus becoming subject to a younger clergyman.

[2] Fremin set out for the Seneca country from the Mohawk, October 10, 1668: Rel. de la N. F., p. 32.

[3] The Indians at Quinté Bay were a portion of the Cayuga tribe who moved across the lake to avoid the Andastes: Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1668, p. 20. The language of the Relation would imply that Jesuit missionaries had for two years labored at Kenté; but no statement is made elsewhere as to the fact, and Mr. Faillon denies it, and explains it as an allusion to Menard's former labors at Cayuga, which is not probable. He also denies that the Sulpitians found any Christians at Quinté: Histoire de la Colonie Canadiene, iii., p. 194, n. Messrs. Fenelon and Trouvé reached the village of Kenté Oct. 28, 1668, and began their labors. The next year, being joined by Francis Saturnin Lascaris d'Urfé, son of the Marquis d'Urfé, and a descendant of the Greek Lascaris' (Faillon, Histoire de la Col. Fr., iii., pp. 189–190), they established missions also at the village of Gandaseteiagon and Ganeraske. Messrs. de Cicé and Mariet, also Sulpitians, joined them subsequently, but even Mr. Faillon fails to give details as to their success. See Dollier de Casson, Histoire du Montreal, Abrégé de la Mission de Kenté, Marie de l'Incarnation, Lettre Sept. 1, 1669.

We know, moreover, that as the Iroquois felt sure of being supported by their neighbors, and of being able to draw from them all they needed, as often as we should attack them or they took a fancy to break off peace, they never gave themselves much concern about retaining our alliance; hence it came to pass, that fearing us but little, they never showed any great docility in matters of religion. The same missionaries added that strong liquors, which these Indians procured openly in New York, had also always been an insurmountable obstacle to their conversion. If we judge justly, that heretics are guilty of furnishing by this trade so great an obstacle to the progress of Christianity, what reproaches do not Catholics deserve, who by the same means have corrupted it among neophytes, and discredited it among idolaters!

Progress of the colony.

New France then enjoyed profound peace, which it tasted for the first time since its settlement. Those who governed it, and to whom it was in a great measure indebted for this, neglected nothing to profit by it, and to give this colony a solid form, in order to render it worthy of the attention which the king continued to give it. The best part of the regiment of Carignan Salieres had remained; and at the close of the Iroquois war, almost all the soldiers had become settlers there, having received their discharge on this condition.[1] Two years subsequently, six companies, even of the same regiment which had accompanied Mr. de Tracy on his return to France, were sent back, both to re-enforce the garrisons of the most important posts and to augment the number of settlers.[2]

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[1] Each soldier received 100 francs (or 50 livres), with provisions for a year: a sergeant 50 crowns (or 100 francs), with a year's provision: Relation, 1668, p. 3.

[2] The Relation, 1668, p. 2, says that more than 300 families had come over, and that there had been 93 marriages in a year at Quebec alone. The census for 1666, gave 3,418 souls; that of 1667, 4,312; that of 1668, 5,870, not including 712 soldiers: Canada Doc., II., i., p. 144; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 57, 61.

1668. Many of the officers had obtained lands, with all the rights of Seigneurs; they almost all settled in the country, where they married, and where their posterity still subsists.[1] Most of them were gentlemen born; and, accordingly, New France has more of the old noblesse than any other four colonies, and, perhaps, than all the rest together. To conclude, wherever they cleared the ground, the soil proved good, and as the new settlers were stimulated by emulation to equal the virtue, industry, and love of labor of the older, all were soon in a condition to subsist, and the colony, as it multiplied, had not to deplore a decline in morality and religion.

Comet, earthquake, sickness.

In the month of April, this same year, there appeared a new comet at Quebec. It was lance-shaped, reddish, very long, and fiery; one of its extremities was hidden beneath the horizon; it followed the setting sun, and disappeared as soon as the moon rose. The people thought that it announced some shocks of earthquake, which were felt some time after; and sickness, which prevailed the ensuing fall.[2] As usual with the populace, when once alarmed, they did not limit their fears to this, and entertained great fears for the harvest: but no malign influence approached the fields, and the harvest was one of the most abundant.

A Hospital nun dies in the odor of sanctity.

In the month of May, the Hospital nuns of Quebec met with a loss, in which all the public shared their regret. A nun of this house, Mother Catharine of St. Augustine, died after filling all Canada with the odor of her sanctity, nor has time even now diminished in aught the veneration felt for her in her lifetime. Mother Catharine of St. Augustine was the daughter of James Simon, Sieur of Longpré, and was born May 3, 1632, at Saint Sauveur-le-Vicomte, in the diocese of Coutance. On the 24th of October, 1646, she took the religious habit among the Hospital nuns of Bayeux, where she had already an elder sister, her grandmother, a great aunt, and a cousin; the last named, the foundress of the convent. From the outset of her novitiate she, with great earnestness, sought permission to pass over to New France, and she obtained authority from her superiors; but as it was given subject to the good pleasure of her parents, it became unavailing, as her father not only refused his consent, but obtained a decree of the Parliament of Normandy forbidding the novice to leave the province.[1]

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[1] Sixty concessions, chiefly to officers, were made in Oct. and Nov., 1672: Seignorial Questions, A, p. 68a; C. II., p. 33. Among the officers were Sorel, Chambly, Contrecœur, Vercheres, Boisbriant, St. Ours, Durantaye, Sueur. See Faillon, Hist. de la Colonie, iii., p. 342; Dussieux, Le Canada, p. 31.

[2] Le Mercier, Journal, April 13, 1668; M. Marie de l'Incarnation, Lettre Sept. 1, 1668. Juchereau, Histoire de l'Hotel-Dieu, p. 170, mentions that of 1665.

A short time after this gentleman fell sick, and Providence permitted that a Relation of the captivity, sufferings, and death of Father Jogues should fall into his hands. He read it, and what must, one would think, confirm him in his first opinion with regard to his daughter, made him adopt just the contrary.[2] I find, in very authentic documents, that he went to see her, addressed her as a man touched and charmed at the resolution which she displayed in desiring to proceed to a country where there were so many hardships to undergo, and such great dangers to encounter: that as he beheld her more firm than ever in her design, he told her that he would willingly consent to what she wished, if one of her sisters, younger than herself, and also a novice in the same monastery, consented to accompany her: that the condition was ac-

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[1] Ragueneau, La Vie de la Mère Cathérine de Saint Avgvstin, Religieuse Hospitaliere de la Misericorde de Quebec en la Nouvelle France, 12mo, Paris, 1671, pp. 16, 35; Marie (Forestier) de St. Bonaventure de Jesus, Lettre Circulaire in Rel. de la Nouvelle France, 1668, p. 32; Juchereau, Histoire de l'Hotel-Dieu de Quebec, p. 70.

[2] Ragueneau, Vie de la Mère Cathérine, p. 41; Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1668, p. 33; Relation, 1648, p. 3. The Hospital nuns of Dieppe existed as far back as 1250. In 1562, their convent was destroyed by the Calvinists, and their archives perished. They were restored soon after, and in 1625 organized anew, as the "Congregation of the Mercy of Jesus," which Pope Alexander VII. approved by bull, July 19, 1664: Juchereau, Hist. de l'Hotel-Dieu de Quebec, pp. 167, 168.

1668. cepted at first, and that he immediately desisted from his opposition.[3] But there is no allusion to these circumstances in the printed Life of St. Catharine of Augustine, although it is there stated that she had two sisters, nuns, with her in her convent at Bayeux. It is there stated simply that Mr. de Longpré having fallen sick, believed that God was chastising him for his opposition to the designs of God as to his daughter, and that he consented to her voyage.[1]

She accordingly set out for Nantes, where she had apparently been told that they were to embark, and on the 4th of May, having on the day previous entered on her seventeenth year, she made her vows in the hands of Father Vimond, who was returning to Canada with a new re-enforcement of missionaries, and who had been delegated to receive her profession as soon as she attained the necessary age.[2] A Hospital nun of the convent of Dieppe, and another from that of Vannes,[3] had also proceeded with her to Nantes, whence they were obliged to go to Rochelle in search of a vessel. They embarked on the 27th of May, with Father Vimond and all his party, and on the 19th of August, they arrived at Quebec, after experiencing very bad weather, and a contagious disease, which brought our young professed to the verge of the grave.[4]

She was received as befitted her courage and the high idea conceived of her virtue; but they soon perceived that she was one of those privileged souls, on whom God de-

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[1] Relation de la N. F., 1648, p. 3.

[2] Ragueneau (Vie de la Mère Cathérine, pp. 40, 42) alludes to the reading of the Relation, but states that the mother went to the convent to announce the father's consent, implying that he did not go.

[3] She took simple vows April 25, 1648, at Bayeux, and solemn vows in the Chapel of Our Lady of All Joy at Nantes, May 4: Ragueneau, Vie de la Mère Cathérine, pp. 43, 45; Juchereau, Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu, pp. 72, 73.

[4] Mother Anne of the Assumption of Dieppe, and Mother Jane Thomas of St. Agnes of Vannes: Ragueneau, Vie de la Mère Cathérine, p. 45; Juchereau, Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu, p. 73; Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1648, p. 3.

[5] Ragueneau, Vie de la Mère Cathérine, pp. 47, 49; Juchereau, Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu, p. 74; Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1648, p. 2. For a description of the convent at Quebec, see de la Potherie, i., p. 252; Charlevoix, Journal, p. 76.

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lights to pour forth without limit all the treasures of His grace. Nor did the reputation of her sanctity remain long confined within this enclosure of her monastery, the whole colony was imbued with it. There took place in regard to her, indeed, wonderful things, which the innocence of her life, an heroic fervor, that, notwithstanding her almost continual sickness, accompanied with the most acute pain, sought whatever was most painful in the peculiar exercises of her vocation; her profound humility, her obedience to the least sign of her Superiors, and her docility in following the advice of the Directors of her conscience, prevented from being regarded as illusions of a mind deceived.[1] The holy Bishop of Petræa, who examined her with the most scrupulous attention, and who had himself a practical science of the most sublime ways, and Father Ragueneau, who was long invested with her direction, a man eminent for his apostolic labors, and his experience as a director, approved her in all things, and unhesitatingly regarded her as one of the favorite spouses who compose the most precious part of the fold of Christ. Still, her life, written by the same Father Ragueneau, did not meet with universal approbation.[2] The reason is, that in God's conduct with regard to souls, to whom he imparts his most intimate communications, there are hidden mysteries, which it is useless, and sometimes dangerous, to unveil to the public eye. Moreover, few persons are capable of understanding them, and it is not in books, but in the school of the Holy Ghost, that they can be learned. Hence they often become stumbling-blocks to those to whom the Almighty has not given a comprehension of them. Man cannot, as the holy guide of Tobias declared, proclaim too highly the works by which the Almighty vouchsafes to manifest to the world his power and goodness; but there are certain secrets which he reveals, rarely

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[1] Ragueneau, Vie de la Merè Cathérine, passim.

[2] Le Clercq (Etablissement de la Foi, p. 541) assails it, in his onslaught upon the series of Jesuit publications.

1668. and exclusively, to souls in whom he sees fit to establish his kingdom in a most mystic manner, which it is not, generally speaking, expedient to divulge: "For to hide the secret of a king is good; but to reveal and confess the works of God is an honorable thing." (Tobias, xii. 7.)

Employment of the missionaries among the Iroquois.

Towards the close of summer, the Senecas sent to Quebec deputies to solicit Mr. de Courcelles to obtain for them a missionary, and that governor induced the Superior-General to grant them Father Frémin, who was succeeded in the Mohawk canton by Father Pearron.[1] Although the Iroquois generally did not seem strongly disposed to embrace Christianity, there was, nevertheless, much good to be done in their towns. Had they merely succeeded in softening them, in accustoming them to live with the French, and inspiring them with an esteem for the Christian religion, it was much; but I have already observed that there were everywhere dying children to baptize; slaves of various nations, who were usually found more docile; sick persons, who could not resist the impression made on them by the assiduous care of an inexhaustible and disinterested charity. They discovered, in fine, from time to time, some of those predestined souls in whom God renders sensible what St. Paul says, that he is no acceptor of persons (Rom. ii. 11); the greatest miracles of his mercy being often wrought in favor of those who seem to call down rather all the lightnings of his justice.

The Mohawks had always been the most avowed enemies of the Christians; they were the most fierce and haughty of the Iroquois; they had manifested at all times an animosity against the French nation, which seemed a part of their nature; thus far they alone had imbrued their hands in the blood of the ministers of the Gospel; and we cannot doubt but that to something beyond a mere savage hate was to be ascribed much of that fury which we have seen them exercise against pastors and their flocks. Yet it was in this very canton that the Gospel made most rapid progress and the most abundant harvest. A church was soon beheld there composed of fervent neophytes, who subsequently founded those flourishing missions at Sault St. Louis[1] and the Mountain,[2] so fruitful in saints, and from which the colony has derived such great advantage. To conclude, it was this same canton that gave to New France the Genevieve of North America, that illustrious Catharine Tegahkouita, whom Heaven continues for nearly seventy years to render illustrious by miracles, whose authenticity will bear the test of the most severe and critical scrutiny.[3]

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[1] See Relation de la N. F., 1668, p. 32. Father Fremin had left Mohawk for the Seneca canton Oct. 10, while the Seneca envoys did not reach Montreal till Nov. 10. His successor was F. John Pierron.

Iroquois missions in Canada.

The Oneidas were then much less docile than the Mohawks; and the Cayugas, who had till then appeared so well disposed, corresponded but poorly to the care bestowed by Father Stephen de Carheil to Christianize them. They treated him, however, very well, and rendered justice to his superior talents and eminent virtue. Nothing shows more clearly that the holiest men, most estimable for personal qualities, are in God's hand but instruments with which he can dispense, and mere useless servants, than what befell this missionary, whom I left at Quebec in 1721,[4] full of vigor and vivacity. He had sacrificed the greatest talents which can do honor to a man of his profession;

Character and opinions of Father de Carheil.

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[1] This mission was founded at Laprairie, opposite Montreal, in 1670 (Rel. 1671, p. 12), and removed in 1676 to Sault St. Louis or Caughnawaga, below the rapids.

[2] The mission of the Mountain was founded in 1677, by Mr. Belmont, of St. Sulpice, and was removed to Sault au Recollet in 1704, and to the Lake of the Two Mountains in 1720.

[3] Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1669, p. 26; 1670, p. 23, &c.; 1671, p. 13; 1672, p. 18; Vie de la Bonne Catherine, MS.; Cholenec, Lettres Edifiantes; Kip, Jes. Missions, p. 115; De la Potherie, Hist. de l'Amérique Septentrionale, i., p. 351.

[4] Father Stephen de Carheil was born at Vienne, Nov. 20, 1633, entered the Society of Jesus, Aug. 30, 1652, arrived in Canada Aug. 6, 1666. He labored first at the Huron mission, then at Cayuga from 1668 to 1684, then on the Ottawa mission till the early part of the next century. He wrote treatises on the Huron and Iroquois languages. He died in Canada July 27, 1726; Carayon, Documents Inédits, xiv.

1668. and in hopes of a fate like that of many of his brethren, who had bedewed Canada with their blood, he had employed a kind of violence with his Superiors to obtain a mission, whose obscurity sheltered him from all ambition, and offered him only crosses. There he labored untiringly for more than sixty years. He spoke Huron and Iroquois with as much ease and elegance as his maternal tongue. French and Indians concurred in regarding him as a saint, and a genius of the highest order. Yet he accomplished few conversions. For this he humbled himself before God; and this humiliation served to sanctify him more and more. He has often protested to me that he adored the designs of Providence in his regard, convinced that he would have imperilled his salvation by the success which he might have claimed on a more distinguished stage, and that this thought consoled him without price for the barrenness of his long and toilsome apostolate. I have deemed it proper to cite this example, that those who enter on the evangelic career may understand that their time and toil will not be lost, if they become saints; that the conquest of souls is solely the work of Grace; that not only natural talents, but the sublimest virtues themselves, have no efficacy for touching the heart except when God vouchsafes to impart it, and that when their labors are fruitless, they must remember that the ministering spirits, who draw from the very bosom of the Deity that heavenly fire, one spark of which would suffice to inflame the whole world with divine love, and to whom the guardianship of kingdoms and individuals is especially committed, are often compelled to mourn over the blindness of the heathen, and the hardened obstinacy of the sinner.

Father Stephen de Carheil.

But the most precious fruits reaped from the peace,[1] now

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[1] The vague statement here seems not based on any documentary evidence. See vol. ii., p. 8, note, for the position of the Algonquin tribes proper. These had in 1666 almost disappeared, and could not resume their old seats. The upper Algonquins were constantly shifting, but made no grand movement at this time.

1668.

Several missions established among the Algonquin nations.

universally prevailing, were the discovery of several great countries, and the establishment of several missions among nations of the Algonquin language. These Indians no longer dreading the incursions of the Iroquois, had almost all returned to their ancient seats. This obliged the missionaries to separate, so that no one should be left helpless. Fortunately, re-enforcements just received from France put them in a condition to supply all. Father Dablon and Father Marquette went to take post at the Sault Ste. Marie, to which the present name was then given.[1]

The Sault Indians,[2] who had attracted them to the spot, also showed the same eagerness for instruction which they had displayed nearly thirty years before, and at first all wished to receive baptism; but the sequel showed that they had good reason for not yielding to their entreaties, which were influenced almost exclusively by interested motives. Nevertheless, they took advantage of their good-will to baptize all the children in danger of death, and to instruct adults. A small number were faithful to Grace, which proffered itself to all: it rendered the rest inexcusable before God, and justified his providence.

About the same time, Father Nicolas, whom Father Allouez had taken with him to Chagouamigon, brought down to Quebec some Indians whom we know only by the name of Nez-Percez—Pierced Noses.[3] They are a small Algon-

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[1] Champlain calls it Sault de Gaston; the Jesuit Relations, simply The Sault; but in 1670 (Rel., p. 78), they founded the mission of Ste. Marie du Sault. Hennepin, Descript. de la L. (1683), p. 60, Perrot, p. 128, La Hontan, i., p. 121, say Saut Ste. Marie. La Potherie, ii., p. 124, says Saut de Ste. Marie.

[2] Their proper Indian name was Pahouitingȣach Irini, who numbered 150 souls, and they comprised, besides, the Nouquet on the south shore of Lake Superior, with the Outchibous (Chippeways proper) and Maremegs from the north shore: Rel. 1670, p. 79. The Relation (1640, p. 34) calls them Paouichtigouan; that of 1648, p. 62, the Paouitagoung.

[3] This descent of F. Nicolas is not mentioned in the Relations, which are silent as to his labors. M. Mary of the Incarnation states it in her letter of Sept. 1, 1668, and the last entry in the Journal of Le Mercier, June 21, 1668, begins with his name; and here, unfortunately, we lose the guidance of these contemporary jour-

1668. quin nation, in which both men and women have the custom of piercing the nose, in order to hang from it wampum beads, and other like trifles. After concluding their trade, they returned to Chagouamigon, whence they had started.[1] The missionaries not finding here enough to occupy all their time, Father Allouez proceeded to establish his post in the bay of Lake Michigan[2] (what is called the Bay des Puants).[3] There he labored assiduously; but, during the first years, he reaped but little fruit of his toil.[4]

Talon returns to France.

This same year Mr. Talon returned to France,[5] and was relieved by Mr. de Bouteroue,[6] who was especially counselled to moderate wisely the excessive severity of confes-

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nals, which cover from 1645 to 1668. The subsequent journals were in the hands of Wm. Smith, the historian, and have never since appeared. This volume was thrown into the street as rubbish, but fortunately picked up by one who saw its value. F. Nicolas returned, accompanied by another Father and a lay-brother: M. Mary. These were evidently Father James Marquette and Brother Louis le Boesme: Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1668, p. 20; 1669, p. 29; 1670, p. 79.

[1] The Relation (1668, p. 21) says: "Some of these nations have appeared this summer in our settlements, to the number of 600." It does not give any name, and would seem to imply that the flotilla was made up from several tribes. M. Mary of the Incarnation does not call them Nez-Percés. She says a tribe of Indians who had never seen Europeans, and who all had their noses pierced: Letter, Sept. 1, 1668. The tribe was apparently that of the Amikouek or Beaver. The missionaries among the Hurons in 1636, speak of the Beaver tribe as Nez-Percés (Rel. 1636, p. 92). They lay on the mainland, north of Manitouline. See Perrot, Mœurs et Coustumes, p. 20.

[2] Lake Michigan is called, in the earlier accounts, Lake of the Illinois (Rel. 1667, p. 18; 1670, p. 92): although the name Machihiganing is given in the Relation 1670, p. 97, and Mitchiganons in Relation 1671, p. 25. The simpler form, Michigan, is Illinois, and means Great Lake (Mitchi-gami): Le Boulanger, Dictionnaire.

[3] The Bay des Puants is Green Bay; and was so called from Puants, the name given by the Algonquins to the Winnebagoes. See note, ante, p. 106. The helots among the Natchez, so called, were perhaps a conquered Dakota tribe.

[4] Father Allouez left Sault St. Marie for his first visit to Green Bay Nov. 3, 1669: Rel. 1670, p. 92. French traders were already there when he reached it, Dec. 2. He then ascended Fox River to the lake, and began his labors among the Sacs, Foxes, Miamis, and Maskoutens.

[5] Relation de la N. F., 1668, p. 3.

[6] See Bouteroue's commission, dated April 8, 1668: Edits et Ordonnances, iii. p. 38.

sors and of the bishop, and to maintain a good understanding among all the clergy in the country. This last article in his instructions was not founded on any complaint, there being a perfect union among all the bodies that constituted the secular and regular clergy: nor did any thing edify the people more than this concert. But many complaints had been made on the first subject; and we shall soon see what gave rise to them, as well as the remedy applied to this pretended evil.[1] 1668.

Character of Mr. de Courcelles.

Mr. Talon did not leave New France with the view of never returning; and in the course of a few years we shall see him resume his office. Domestic affairs required his presence at Paris, and he had had some matters of dissatisfaction in Canada, which made him desire to leave it for a time. It is certain that he complained to the court of the manners of Mr. de Courcelles towards him. That general, among very good qualities which rendered him one of the most accomplished governors who ruled New France, had some faults, the most striking being an occasional want of activity, with an indisposition to have it remedied by others when necessity required it.

On his side, Talon thought it his duty to go his own path steadily, without communicating to the Governor many things where he dreaded a delay prejudicial to his majesty's service and the good of the colony. It seems, too, that Mr. de Courcelles was not always easily approached, and that he disapproved the conciliatory policy which some seemed to use with the clergy, against whom he had allowed himself to be somewhat prejudiced. This appears from a letter addressed to him by Colbert in 1670, for he informed him that he should bear with more from those with whom he had to live; that in time he would be able to see fewer faults and more good qualities in Mr. de Bouteroué, who was highly esteemed at court; that that Intendant was praiseworthy for showing deference and

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[1] These Instructions have not been found in recent researches.

1668. consideration for the Bishop of Pètræa and the Jesuits; and that there was no ground for fearing that he would let himself be ruled by them.[1]

Erection of the church of Quebec into a bishopric.

It was in this same year, 1670,[2] that the matter of the erection of the church of Quebec into a bishopric was consummated. The affair had been prolonged for such a length of time by the discussion that arose as to his immediate dependence on the Holy See, a point from which the Pope would not recede. This does not, however, prevent the bishopric of Quebec being united in some sort to the French clergy, like the Bishop of Puy, who also depends immediately on Rome. The king, to endow the new bishopric and the chapter of the Cathedral, united to it the two revenues of the Abbey of Maubec; and Mgr. de St. Valier, successor to Bishop Laval, also obtained subsequently the union of the Abbey of Benevent, partly to the bishopric and partly to the chapter. Want of money to pay for his bulls, obliged the new bishop of Quebec to go to France and ask the king for means to meet the expense, and he did not actually receive them till 1674.[1]

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[1] N. Y. Colonial Doc., ix., p. 62.

[2] In the year 1669 occurred a missionary expedition which explored Lake Erie. The Sulpitians were eager to enter on the field of Indian missions, and after beginning their missions among the Iroquois north of Lake Ontario (ante, p. 109), sent M. Dollier de Casson to winter, in 1668, with the Nipissings. The chief Nitarikyk had a slave, taken by the Iroquois from some southwestern tribe. Lasalle, who had obtained the seigneurie of St. Sulpice from the Sulpitians, at the same time heard of the Ohio and the Mississippi, and it was proposed at once to proceed in that direction. Accordingly, July 6, 1669, Rev. Mr. Dollier de Casson, with de Galinée, a deacon, Lasalle and a party of Frenchmen, numbering in all 22 men, started from La Salle's seigneurie opposite Sault St. Louis, in seven canoes, guided by some Senecas, and proceeded to the Seneca country. At Tenaoutoua they met Jolliet, and received from him information as to the west, which enabled them to draw a map. Here Lasalle and his party refused to proceed on various pretexts, and returned to the St. Lawrence, where, as they had boasted that they were going to China (La Chine), a laugh was raised at their expense; and Lasalle's place got the name of Lachine, which has remained to this day. Dollier de Casson, with his small party (nine in all), set out from Tenaoutoua Oct. 1, 1669, and reaching Lake Erie wintered near the mouth of Grand River on the north shore; and on March 25, 1670, drew up an act of possession. They then continued their voyage, but losing some of their effects in a storm, resolved to abandon their project and push on to the Jesuit mission at Sault Ste. Marie, which they reached May 25, having been the first to sail through Lakes Erie and St. Clare. See their voyage detailed and map given in Faillon, Histoire de la Col. Franç., iii., pp. 284–306; Talon's Report, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 66.

1668.

The Governor of Montreal obtains a commission from the king. 1670.

Some changes were also made at this time in regard to the government of Montreal. Mr. de Maisonneuve having desired to retire, Mr. de Bretonvilliers, Superior-General of the Seminary of Saint Sulpice, legally nominated as his successor Mr. Perrot,[2] who had married the niece of Mr. Talon.[3] This new governor considered that a commission from a private individual did not give him a character becoming to a royal officer, and he feared perhaps that the services he might render in that office would not be taken into account. He accordingly asked and obtained a commission from his majesty, in which it was expressly stated that they were granted on the nomination of Mr. de Bretonvilliers.[4]

Mr. de Courcelles' voyage to the Iroquois, and its object.

Meanwhile, Mr. de Courcelles paid as much attention and showed as much warmth when there was question of war and Indians, as he displayed inactivity and a suspicious and difficult temper in whatever concerned the internal administration of the colony. Thus, learning that the Iroquois had sent presents to induce the Ottawas to bring their peltries to them, that they might sell the furs

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[1] La Tour, Mem. de Mr. de Laval; Mr. Bois, Esquisse de la Vie, p. 63; Faillon, Histoire de la Col. Franç., iii., pp. 426–436. The Bull was issued by Clement X., Oct. 1, 1674; and on the 23d April, 1676, Mgr. de Laval took his oath of fidelity to the king as Bishop of Quebec.

[2] Mr. de Maisonneuve did not ask to retire. He was sent to France by Viscount de Tracy, without any explanation, in 1665: Ante, p. 83. Tracy commissioned Mr. du Puys as governor; but in 1669, Mr. de Maisonneuve having resigned his office, and the Seminary having been restored to its right, Mr. de Bretonvilliers appointed M. Marie Perrot, captain in the Auvergne regiment, by letters dated June 3, 1669: Faillon, Hist. de la Colonie Française, iii., pp. 163–4.

[3] Madeleine de Laguide. Talon himself requested Mr. de Bretonvilliers to appoint Perrot, he himself being about to return to Canada as Intendant. On their voyage they were shipwrecked, and Talon, with Mr. and Mme. Perrot, escaped by clinging to a fragment of a mast.

[4] This royal commission was dated March 14, 1671.

1670. to the English in New York, he perceived that this project, if successful, would ruin, beyond all hope, the commerce of New France. He even carried his views further, and did not doubt but that, could the cantons once detach the northern nations from our alliance, they would soon renew hostilities, which nothing but fear of the French arms, supported by those of our allies, had repressed.

To divert this stroke, he resolved to show himself to the Iroquois, and his voyage had all the success which he anticipated. He even deemed it best to ascend the river St. Lawrence, which is extremely interrupted by falls and rapids from the island of Montreal to quite near Lake Ontario, because he wished to teach these savages that the French could go in boats to their very doors; a thing impracticable by the Sorel River.[1] This expedition, it is true, considerably affected his health, which obliged him to ask his recall to France, in order, as he said in his letter to the minister, that, if he had the happiness of recovering his health, he might go and lose his life in the king's service, as all his brothers had already done.[2]

Acadian affairs.

But what then more seriously engaged the attention of the ministry in regard to New France, was the settlement of Acadia, which had just been once more restored to France, in pursuance of the treaty of Breda.[3] It was considered at court that to give that province a degree of solidity, that it had always lacked, it was necessary to put it in a position to be speedily relieved from Quebec. But to understand the design of the ministry in this matter, we must go back somewhat in our narrative.

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[1] De Courcelle's visit was in consequence of royal direction. See N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 62, 70. For his voyage up the St. Lawrence, see Dollier de Casson's Narrative of Gov. de Courcelle's Voyage to Lake Ontario, New York Colonial Doc., ix., pp. 75–88. He left Montreal June 3, 1671, and returned the 17th: Ib.; Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1671, p. 2.

[2] None of the recent Canadian writers throw any light on the personal history of Courcelle.

[3] July 21–31, 1667: Memoires des Commissaires du Roi sur les Possessions en Amérique, ii., p. 32; Act of Cession, ib., p. 292.

1613–70.

Acadian affairs.

The French, expelled from Acadia and all the southern part of New France in 1613, by the English, in the manner that we have seen,[1] made at the time no attempt to recover it. And although it was abandoned almost as soon as it was invaded, and Mr. de Poutrincourt, who made a voyage thither the next year, found no one there in a position to gainsay him, had he chosen to settle there again,—the few settlers whom he had left there being even quite unmolested,—chagrin at the sight of his ruined labors, and fear that in case he should at new expense begin to rebuild Port Royal, the English would come to dislodge him before he had time to fortify himself there, induced him to renounce it entirely.[2]

At the end of a few years, they seemed to awaken in the court of London to the beauties of this country, and we have seen[3] that in 1621, James I., king of Great Britain, had bestowed it upon the Earl of Stirling, who nevertheless did almost nothing to avail himself of so important a grant. The French, accordingly, remained there comparatively unmolested till the war of Rochelle; but then the English seized all the posts which they occupied, except Cape Sable, which is the southern point of Acadia. There a gentleman named la Tour commanded a fort, which he held with great glory, in the manner that I am about to describe.

His father being at London during the siege of La Rochelle, I do not know on what business,[4] there married a lady of honor to the queen of England, and in consideration of this marriage, had been honored with the collar of

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[1] Ante, vol. i., pp. 279–86.

[2] Lescarbot, Histoire de la N. F., édition 1618, p. 684. His son Biencourt, afterwards called Poutrincourt, remained in Acadia, and died there in 1623 or 1624: Champlain, Voyages, ed. 1632, p. 281; Letter of la Tour to Louis XIII., L'Abeille, vii., No. 14. He left as his devisee Charles Amador de la Tour, whose Fort St. Louis, was at Cape Sable. Denys, i., p. 68; Champlain (Ed. 1632), p. 297.

[3] Ante, vol. i, p. 59; Memoires des Commissaires du Roi, ii., p. 193.

[4] Claude Turgis de St. Etienne, while on his way from France to join his son, was taken in one of de Roquemont's vessels and carried a prisoner to London. In 1630, won by Sir Wm. Alexander, he sailed to induce his son to yield.

Exploit of Sieur de la Tour.

the Garter. Whether he had already given to that court pledges contrary to his duty, or that his new dignity involved his giving them, it is certain that he promised the king of Great Britain to put the English in possession of the post held by his son in Acadia; and on this assurance two ships of war were given to him, on which he embarked with his new wife.[1]

On arriving off Cape Sable, he had himself put ashore, and proceeded alone to meet his son, to whom he drew a splendid picture of his influence at the English court, and the advantage he expected to derive from it. He added that it rested with his son to obtain as great advantage for himself; that he brought him the collar of the Garter;[2] and that he was empowered to confirm him in his government, if he would declare for His Britannic Majesty. The young commandant was equally surprised and shocked at this language. He assured his father distinctly that he was mistaken, if he supposed him capable of delivering up his place to the enemies of the state; that he would hold it for the king, his master, as long as he had a breath of life; that he esteemed highly the honor that the king of England wished to confer on him, but that he would not purchase it by an act of treason; that the prince whom he served was powerful enough to reward him in a way to give him no reason to regret the offers made him; and that at all events, his fidelity would be a sufficient reward.

On receiving this unexpected reply, the father returned on board, and the next day wrote in the most tender and pressing terms to his son; but this letter also failed to produce any effect. At last he assured him that he was able to carry by force what he had been unable to obtain by entreaty; that when he had landed his troops, it would be too late to regret having rejected his advantageous offers, and that he conjured him as a father not to compel him to act as an enemy. 1670.

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[1] Denys, Description Géographique des Costes, etc., i., p. 69.

[2] Ib., p. 70. Denys was evidently misinformed as to this. La Tour was made a Baronet of Nova Scotia. See Patent in Hazard, Hist. Collections, i., pp. 307–309. As between la Tour and d'Aulnay, Denys always speaks bitterly of the latter, who had wronged him; and perhaps too easily credited de la Tour. See Champlain (Ed. 1632), p. 283.

These threats were as unavailing as his solicitations and promises had been. The elder la Tour wished to carry them out, and the English having made their approaches, the commandant made such a vigorous defence, that, at the end of two days, the English general, who had not reckoned on the slightest resistance, and had already lost some of his best soldiers, thought it unadvisable to push the siege any further. On his announcing this, the elder la Tour was in a terrible dilemma. Return to England he durst not, much less to France; and the only course left to him was to throw himself on the clemency of his son.[1]

He broached the matter to his wife, and told her that he had felt assured of rendering her happy in America; but that as untoward fortune had blighted his prospects, he was unwilling to require her to live there unhappily, and that he left her at full liberty to return to her family. The lady replied that she had not married him to abandon him; that wherever he chose to take her, and in whatever condition he might be, she should always be his faithful companion, and make it her happiness to alleviate his disappointments. La Tour, charmed and affected by this great generosity, besought his son to allow him to remain in Acadia.[2]

The young man replied that he would not expose him to lose his head on an English scaffold; that he would cheerfully give him an asylum; but that he could not permit either him or his wife to enter his forts: that, moreover, he pledged his word not to let them be in want of any thing. The condition seemed somewhat hard, but he had to submit to it. With the consent of the English commander, la Tour and his wife landed with all their

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[1] Denys, Description Géographique, des Costes, etc., i., pp. 70–4.

[2] Ib., p. 75. The elder la Tour, after his repulse, retired with his Scotch colonists to Port Royal. His son was relieved by two ships under Capt. Marot, and having been, in Feb., 1631, made Lt.-Gen. of Acadia,

1670.

property, two valets and two chambermaids, and the two ships sailed back to England. La Tour built a suitable house for his father at some distance from the fort, agreeably situated on a fertile spot, and took care of their support. The Sieur Denys states, in his "Description of North America," that he met them there in 1635, and that they were quite comfortably situated.[1]

Division of the provinces that constitute the Government of Acadia. 1647–70.

All that the English had wrested from us in Acadia and on the neighboring coast, during and before the war of Rochelle, having been restored in 1632, as previously stated,[2] all that part of New France was divided into three provinces, the government and proprietorship whereof were conceded to the Commander of Razilly,[3] the younger la Tour, and Mr. Denys. The first had for his share Port Royal, and all south of it as far as New England;[4] the second had Acadia, properly so called, from Port Royal to Camceaux:[5] and the third had the eastern coast of

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Fort St. Louis, Port de la Tour, he wrote to his father urging him to return to his duty. Champlain (1632), p. 284.

[1] Denys, Description Géographique, i., p. 77, says "about 1635." The Scotch left at Port Royal by the elder de la Tour, were all killed by the Indians except two, who joined the French. Ferland, i., p. 248.

[2] By the treaty of St. Germain, March 29, 1632: Memoires des Commissaires, ii., p. 5; Denys, i., p. 238. Ante, vol. ii., p. 63.

[3] Isaac de Razilly, Knight and then Commander of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, was related to Richelieu, and was first Captain of the West. In 1621 he distinguished himself against Rochelle. In 1628 he got ready a squadron of seven ships to relieve Quebec, but as peace was signed with England, sailed against Morocco, thus enabling Kirk to capture Quebec after peace was declared. The next year he was Royal Commodore off Brittany. In 1632 he was Lieutenant for the King and Cardinal Richelieu in New France, and as such received Acadia from the English. He was then made Lieutenant-General there, having under him as subordinate commanders his kinsman, Charles de Menou, Seigneur d'Aulnay de Charnisay, and Charles de la Tour. He died at Fort La Héve in 1636–7: Ferland, Cours d'Histoire, i., p. 255. As to his earnest efforts at colonization, see Denys, i., pp. 54, 95, 101. He had Capuchins. Ib., p. 106.

[4] His concession on the St. Croix River, is dated, May 19, 1632. Mem. des Commissaires, ii., p. 491.

[5] The concession to Charles de St. Etienne, Sieur de la Tour, was on the St. John River, Jan. 15, 1635: Memoires des Commissaires, ii., p. 493. On Feb. 10, 1638, he was made Lieut.-Gen. on the coast of Acadia, from the middle of the main land of the Bay of Fundy to Camceaux

Canada from Camceaux to Gaspé.[1] Yet the first seems to have had at first a right over the whole of Acadia;[1] but that he made arrangements with Mr. de la Tour, and he certainly made a settlement at Port de la Héve,[2] which was then and subsequently in the district of the latter, who, on his side, did the same on the river St. John. These gentlemen very probably made a friendly exchange of domains with each other, at least in part; for Fort Pentagoet,[3] which had been built by la Tour before the war, remained to this commander, during whose life the good understanding between the three governors was unbroken.

Civil wars between the French.

After the death of Mr. de Razilly, Mr. d'Aunay de Charnisé succeeded to his rights by an arrangement which he made with the brothers of the deceased,[4] and he obtained, in 1647, a commission as Governor of Acadia, which is apparently to be understood only of that part of the peninsula which bore more properly the name of Acadia, as I have already several times remarked.[5] The first thing that he did on taking possession of his government, was to abandon la Héve, which is undoubtedly the best port,

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(Ib., ii., p. 495), and secured in possession of Fort St. Johns, but excluded from La Héve and Port Royal (Ib., i., p. 82). Louis XIII. to d'Aulnay, Feb. 10, 1638, L'Abeille, vii., No. 12.

[1] On the 30th of January, 1654, Nicholas Denys was made governor in all the extent of the Great Bay St. Lawrence, and the adjacent islands, from Cape Canseau to Cap des Rosiers: Mem. des Com., ii., p. 503.

[2] La Héve was in the concession made in 1634, of La Héve, Port Royal, and Sable Island, to the brother of the Commander, Capt. Claude de Razilly. The Commander's own district extended from the middle of the mainland of the Bay of Fundy towards Virginia, including Pentagoet. All this passed to d'Aulnay: Ib., ii., p. 495. Letter of Louis XIII., L'Abeille, vii., No. 12.

[3] Pentagoët was on a peninsula on the eastern side of Penobscot Bay, near the present Castine: Williamson's Maine, i., p. 308; Maine Hist. Coll., vi., p. 109.

[4] D'Aulnay administered La Héve and Port Royal in the name of Claude de Razilly, brother and heir to the Commander, and in 1642, acquired all his rights by purchase: Ferland, Cours d'Histoire, p. 348.

[5] This commission, dated February, 1647, recites his zeal for the conversion of the Indians, his establishment of Capuchins, his recovery of Pentagoet from the English, his reduction of the fort on St. John River rebelliously held by la Tour, and makes him Governor and Lieutenant-General from the St. Lawrence to Virginia, with very ample powers: Memoires des Commis., ii., p. 279.

and the best soil in the whole country. He transferred all the inhabitants to Port Royal, where he began a great establishment.[1]

But whether Port Royal belonged to Mr. de la Tour by virtue of the exchange he made with Commander de Razilly, or that the two governors were too close to each other to remain long friends, a misunderstanding soon arose, and they were not slow in coming to arms. After some unimportant acts of hostility, Charnisé learning that de la Tour had left his Fort St. Jean with the best part of his garrison, thinking it a favorable opportunity for seizing it, marched thither with all his troops.

Unworthy conduct of de Charnisé.

Madame de la Tour had remained there, and although surprised with a small number of soldiers, she resolved to defend the place to the last: which she did so courageously for three days, that she compelled the besiegers to draw off;[2] but on the fourth day, which was Easter Sunday, she was betrayed by a Swiss, who was on guard, and whom Mr. de Charnisé succeeded in corrupting. Yet she did not deem her case hopeless: when she learned that the enemy were scaling the wall, she rushed forward at the head of her little garrison to defend it.

Charnisé thinking this garrison stronger than he had at first supposed, and who feared a repulse, proposed to the lady to give her terms; and she consented, in order to save the lives of the few brave men who had so well supported her; but Charnisé had no sooner entered the fort than, ashamed of having made terms with a woman who had met him only with her courage and a handful of men picked up, he complained of having been deceived, and deeming himself absolved from the articles of capitulation, hung all Madame de la Tour's men except one, whose life he spared on condition of his acting as hangman to the rest; and he forced his prisoner, Madame de la Tour, to witness the execution with a rope around her neck.[1]

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[1] He transferred from La Héve to Port Royal the 30 or 40 families settled by Commander de Razilly. Denys says: "D'Aulnay feared that the country would be settled. He took all the inhabitants from La Héve to Port Royal, always holding them as slaves, and allowing them to make no profit:" Description, etc., des Costes de l'Amérique Septentrionale, i., p. 101. D'Aulnay had, too, a fort on the eastern shore of the Penobscot (Pentagoet), Denys, i., p. 22, near the present Castine, and a post on the Kennebec. Having brought over Capuchin friars about 1643, these had a house at Pentagoët, the Hospice of Our Lady of Holy Hope; and subsequently, it seems, one on the Kennebec. They seem to have been carried off in 1649 or 1650: Historical Magazine, viii., p. 301. After his death his daughters endeavored to obtain compensation from the court for his losses: Canada Doc., iii., pp. 126, 157.

[2] Williamson, History of Maine, i., pp. 318, 320, is in error in representing Madame de la Tour as twice attacked by d'Aulnay in 1645 and 1647. See note 1, next page.

Mr. Denys, who relates this tragic event,[2] does not give the date or the sequel; he contents himself with stating that, after the death of de Charnisé,[3] one le Borgne of

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[1] Denys, Description Géographique des Costes de l'Amérique, etc., i., pp. 38–9. Charlevoix has here greatly confused matters. In 1638, as we have seen the division was made, the boundary being the middle of the mainland of the Bay of Fundy (Chignecto Bay). February 13, 1641, d'Aulnay obtained an order to arrest la Tour and send him to France; his commission being revoked Feb. 21, 1642, and a new one issued to d'Aulnay next day: Canada Doc., II., i. La Tour invoked the aid of Winthrop, Governor of Massachusetts, and April 12, 1643, entered Boston harbor in an armed vessel. After long and bigoted debates, he was allowed to raise volunteers: Winthrop's New England, ii., p. 107; Hubbard's History, i., p. 150. With this aid he forced d'Aulnay to raise the siege of Fort St. John and retire to Port Royal (Winthrop). Here he pursued him, doing some damage. In Sept., 1644, both Madame de la Tour, and Mr. Marie, envoy of d'Aulnay, were in Boston, and the latter concluded a treaty with Governor Endicot: Hubbard's New England, p. 488; Winthrop's Journal, p. 357. Madame de la Tour succeeded in reaching her husband's fort on the St. John in three ships with supplies, but was invested there and taken in April, 1645, as stated in the text: Denys, Description, etc., i., p. 39. Madame de la Tour died in three weeks after. Her husband, who had lost 250,000 crowns, retired to Sir David Kirk, in Newfoundland, and in Aug., 1646, to Quebec: (Jes. Journal). D'Aulnay then forced Massachusetts to a new treaty: Hubbard's New England, p. 496.

[2] Ferland (Cours d'Hist., pp. 347–355), gives a clear account of these transactions. Williamson (History of Maine, i., pp. 307–324), with all his research, mars his work by the fiction, that it was a religious war, whereas the insincere, captivating la Tour was certainly a Catholic; and the same seems true of his wife. This leads him to draw a picture of what the Capuchins, with d'Aulnay, taught the Indians. The only evidence extant is to the effect that they did not attempt any Indian mission, and the absurdities ascribed to the friars are simply inventions.

[3] He died in 1650, three years after the commission mentioned on p. 129, n. 5: Canada Doc., III., i., p. 182.

1654–70. Rochelle obtained a decree of the Parliament of Paris, in pursuance of which he took possession of every thing in Acadia that had belonged to that gentleman, whose creditor he was. But I find in another memoir, that Mr. de la Tour, who had apparently lost his wife soon after the reverse above related, married his enemy's widow: that he not only became once more master of the Fort on St. John's River, but that he also, for some time, held that at Port Royal, where his second wife, who survived him, had a very fine establishment some years after.[1]

The divisions of Acadia continued.

On his side, the Sieur le Borgne omitted nothing to give force to the decree which he had obtained from the parliament, and assumed to be Lord of Acadia. He even undertook to expel Messieurs de la Tour and Denys from their domains; and he began by the latter. Learning that he had arrived at Cape Breton with a commission from the West India Company, to settle inhabitants there, he dispatched sixty men with orders to carry him off. The commander of this detachment, on landing, discovered that Mr. Denys, after setting all his people ashore to begin a clearing, had gone to visit Port Saint Anne. He thought it a favorable opportunity to destroy the new settlement without any risk: he surprised the men at work, who did not suppose they had enemies to guard against, took them all prisoners, and seized the ship which brought them over, and which had a cargo valued at fifty thousand livres.[2]

D'Aulnay had been 17 years in Acadia. His sons, by a first wife, entered the army and were killed in the service. One, Joseph, in 1658, sought a confirmation of his father's patent: C. D., II., i., p. 289. By his second wife he had a daughter who became Canoness of Poussay: Ferland, i., p. 495.

[1] Denys, Description, etc., i., p. 34.

Charles Amador de la Tour, after the death of d'Aulnay, was made Governor and Lieutenant-General for the king of New France, on the coast of Acadia. See Canada Documents, II., i., p. 206. After his fort was taken by Sedgwick, he obtained, August 9, 1656, from Cromwell, a grant to himself, Thomas Temple, and William Crown, of Acadia, and part of Nova Scotia: Memoires des Commissaires, ii., p. 511. But overwhelmed with debt, he sold out to his co-proprietors, and died before the treaty of Breda, leaving five young children by his second wife, Dame Jane Motin: Ferland, p. 497.

[2] Denys, Description, i., pp. 4–5.

He then sent twenty-five men, well armed, on the road that Mr. Denys would have to take on returning from Saint Anne, with orders to lie in ambush on the road. Denys, utterly unsuspicious of danger, found himself surrounded when he least expected it, and carried off to Port Royal, where he was confined in a dungeon like a criminal, with his feet in irons. He still had a fort on Cape Breton, called Fort Saint Pierre. Of this, too, le Borgne got possession the next year, placing in it a commandant on whom he could depend. 1654–70.

Nor did he stop here. La Héve, since Mr. de Charnisé had retired from it, had recovered quite prosperously. But this party, who had carried off Mr. Denys from Cape Breton, passing la Héve, by le Borgne's order, set fire to all the buildings, not even sparing the chapel. The loss was estimated at one hundred thousand francs.

Some time after, the Sieur Denys recovered his liberty and proceeded to France, to lay his complaint before the king and the company. His representations were heard, and he obtained a new commission, which was confirmed by letters patent of his majesty, and which restored him to all his rights.[1] Armed with these documents, he embarked in 1654, and, on his arrival at Cape Breton, the commander of Fort Saint Pierre surrendered the place to him.[2]

Le Borgne received tidings of this just as he was preparing to surprise Mr. de la Tour in St. John's River, under pretext of carrying him provisions, being aware that that gentleman was in absolute want. This project he deemed more expedient to defer to another season, although he was already on the march. He turned back towards Port Royal, his project being to seize all the papers of the messenger who came to notify him of Denys' commission and the king's orders, so as to follow it up by falling upon that

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[1] Jan. 30, 1654: Memoires des Commissaires, ii., p. 503.

[2] Denys, Description Géographique, etc., i., pp. 4–7.

1654–70. governor, whom he hoped to find entirely off his guard.[1] He had not yet reached Port Royal, when the English appeared before the fort on St. John's River and summoned Mr. de la Tour to surrender it into their hands.

Want of provisions compelled him to yield, and the enemy then proceeded to Port Royal, where they summoned the Sieur le Borgne as they had done Mr. de la Tour. He replied at first quite stoutly, and the English having landed three hundred men to attack him, he dispatched his sergeant with part of his force against him. They engaged, and the French fought quite bravely till the sergeant fell dead, when all his soldiers took to flight and reached the fort in disorder.

Le Borgne now found himself in great perplexity. He had only one hundred and fifty men, including the settlers, but there was not a single one capable of taking command: he himself knew nothing of war, having never served. Thus with a very fair garrison and abundance of ammunition and stores, in a place which the enemy was not in a condition to carry, he deemed it best to surrender on terms.

The English promised much, and then made sport of him, not deeming themselves bound, they said, to keep their word with people who had shown so little courage.[2]

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[1] Denys, Description Géographique, etc., i., p. 7.

[2] Ib., pp. 8–9. Port Royal surrendered Aug. 16, 1654: Capitulation in Memoires des Commissaires, ii., p. 507. In this document, made between Mr. de la Verdure, captain commanding for the king, and guardian of d'Aulnay's children, and Sedgwick, le Borgne is mentioned only as claiming the Chateaufort, with its cargo and some goods in the fort. F. Leonard de Chartres, Vice-Prefect and Custos of the Capuchin mission, with his fellow-religious, were to be at liberty to remain or return to France: Ib., pp 509, 510. This English expedition was commanded by Robert Sedgwick and Captain John Leverett, and contained a detachment of New England troops. It was raised to reduce New Netherland, but on peace being made with Holland it was turned against Acadia, although England was at peace with France: Hutchinson's Massachusetts, i., p. 169; Haliburton's Nova Scotia, i., p. 61; O'Callaghan's New Netherland, ii., p. 259. As to Sedgwick and Leverett, see Palfrey's New England, ii., p. 284.

Pentagoët soon shared the fate of Fort St. John and Port Royal; thus all Acadia and the southern part of New France for the third time fell into the hands of the English. Some time after, the son of the Sieur le Borgne returned to Acadia with a Rochelle merchant, named Guilbaut, whom he had taken into partnership, entered Port la Héve, and threw up a stockade fort. No sooner were the English aware of it than they marched to La Héve to dislodge the French. On their approach, le Borgne, as unwarlike as his father, fled to the woods with some of his men; but this did not prevent Guilbaut from making a vigorous defence. Several of the English were killed in the first assaults, including their commander, and this forced them to retire.[1]

Bad faith of the English.

Nevertheless, they were preparing to renew the assault when Guilbaut, who had no interest at La Héve[2] except that of his property, proposed an arrangement. This was accepted. Guilbaut agreed to surrender the fort on condition that every thing belonging to him and his men should be restored to them. This was done. He intended that his partner should be included in this treaty, but the English not finding le Borgne in his fort, obstinately excluded him from the capitulation, and as he was soon forced by hunger from his retreat, he was forced to put himself in the hands of the victors, who carried him off to Boston a prisoner.

Here they retained him quite a time, after which they enlarged him, and made a treaty, not over well observed on their side. This caused many hostilities, the details of which are not very interesting, and would take up too much space. It is enough to state that the English retained their new conquests till the treaty of Breda, of which I shall soon speak. Sieur Denys, delivered from all fear of the elder le Borgne, profited by the interval of calm to

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[1] Denys, Description Géographique, i., pp. 10–11. He writes Guilbault: Haliburton's Nova Scotia, i., p. 62.

[2] La Héve was on the east side of a river that still bears the name, in Lunenbourg County, Nova Scotia.

1654–70. retrieve his losses in part, and to strengthen his position against the English, from whom he could not expect better treatment than his two colleagues.[1]

Adventures of Sieur Denys.

This interval was, however, short, and although the enemies of the State did not think of disturbing him, his condition was not more favorable. He occupied quite peacefully a fort which he had erected at Chedabouctou,[2] on the eastern coast, when a person named La Giraudiere, who had by false statements fraudulently procured a grant of the port of Camceaux from the West India Company, arrived in that port, where he knew Mr. Denys was hourly expecting a vessel loaded with provisions. The ship actually arrived, and la Giraudiere notified the captain commanding it of his commission, forbade him to deliver any thing to Mr. Denys, and sent to summon that governor to surrender Chedabouctou, with all that he possessed as far as Cape St. Louis, as being comprised within his grant.

Mr. Denys replied that the Company had been imposed upon, and that it was not likely that they would give to another what they had sold to him. La Giraudiere replied that he had a commission in due form, and that if Denys would not give up his fort with a good grace, he had means to compel him. At the same time one hundred and twenty men, who were with Sieur Denys, learning of the seizure of his ship, and seeing themselves thus on the point of running out of provisions, asked for their discharge. He told them that he did not pretend to keep them by force; but he induced them by encouraging words to complete the work actually in hand; and when he saw himself in a position to entertain no fears of La Giraudiere, he transported them all to Cape Breton except twelve, who would not abandon their governor.[3]

As soon as La Giraudiere was informed of their departure, he prepared to reduce Chedabouctou, but he was not a little surprised to find the governor well intrenched there, with cannon and swivels. He, nevertheless, again summoned him to surrender his fort, assuring him that he was most unwise to risk his life in defence of a post that he could not hope to hold. Mr. Denys replied that he would risk more in attacking than in defending it, and that the justice of his cause would combat on his side. La Giraudiere, who had been joined by de Bay, his brother, remained off the fort for three days, doing nothing but move around it, to discover a weak spot where he might attack with security, but finding none, retired.[1] 1654–70.

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[1] Denys, Description, etc., i., p. 12.

[2] The town of Manchester now occupies the site: Haliburton, i., p. 92.

[3] Denys, Description, etc., i., p. 15.

Some time after, de Bay went alone to Chedabouctou, and asking to parley with the governor, told him that his brother had taken Fort St. Pierre, on Cape Breton, and proposed to him an arrangement which, after some discussion, was at last settled. The conditions were, that la Giraudiere should restore Fort St. Pierre to Sieur Denys, who, on his side, would surrender Chedabouctou, and was then to be taken to France, where both were to submit their mutual rights and claims to the West India Company, and abide by its decision.[2]

To this Mr. Denys consented. The company declared that it had been imposed upon; it revoked and annulled its grant in favor of la Giraudiere, and restored Denys to all his rights, but it did not indemnify him for the damage which this affair had caused him, and which amounted to fifteen thousand crowns. To crown his misfortunes, this governor having retired to his fort St. Pierre, in order to repair his losses by the fur trade, was completely ruined by a fire, at the moment when the arrival of a great concourse of Indians assured him of great profit. After this blow, he was no longer able to undertake any thing of moment, and this was a great misfortune for that part of

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[1] Denys, Description Géographique, etc., i., p. 16.

[2] Denys, Description Géographique, etc., i., p. 17.

1654–70. New France, which never had a more capable or attentive commandant.[1]

All these provinces restored to France by the treaty of Breda. 1667–70.

The treaty of Breda, at last, in 1667, restored to the French all that the English had wrested from them in North America;[2] but this restitution was not actually made till 1670. On the 7th of July in that year, Sir (Thomas) Temple, with powers from the King of Great Britain, and Hubert d'Andigny, Chevalier de Grand-Fontaine, plenipotentiary of the Most Christian King, signed a document at Boston, which secured to France all the country extending from Pentagoët to the island of Cape Breton inclusively.

As the whole had been comprised in the treaty under under the name of Acadia, under which the neighboring coasts are often confounded, Sir (Thomas) Temple, it is true, refused to give up Pentagoët, where he commanded, on the ground that that place was not in Acadia.[3] He was right, but as a very good understanding then existed between the two monarchs, he was subsequently obliged[4] to to the Chevalier de Grand-Fontaine a post which, as the English themselves avowed, brought him an income of 80,000 livres.[1] The commission, by virtue of which the French governor was put in possession of this place, bears date March 5, 1670,[2] and gives the limits of his government from the Quinibequi (Kennebec) to the river St. Lawrence, according to the act of taking possession drawn up in 1630, by Commander de Razilly, in the name of King Louis XIII. 1667–70.

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[1] Denys, Description Géographique, etc., i., pp. 18–19.

[2] The treaty of Breda, July 31, 1667, restored "the country which is called Acadia, lying in North America, which the said Most Christian King did formerly enjoy:" Memoires des Commissaires, ii., p. 35. The act of Cession, Feb. 17, 1667–8 (ib., p. 295), names "Pentagoët, St. John, Port Royal, la Héve, and Cap de Sable:" La Conduite des Franç., p. 93.

[3] There is strong ground to infer that the government of Pentagoët, of which Sir Thomas Temple was in possession at the Peace of Breda, comprised also Acadia and its fisheries, since it is stated that merely from the fees which he derived from the English, he made 80,000 livres annually: *Charlevoix.* See Temple's order to Walker, July 7, 1670; Memoires des Commissaires, ii., p. 16; Act of Restoration, Ib., p. 319. Besides the fort containing guard-house, storehouse, and chapel, there was an outhouse, and a garden containing 50 or 60 fruit trees. Act of surrender of Fort Gemisick, on the St. John's, and of Port Royal, to Pierre Joybert de Soulanges, Aug. 27 and Sept. 2, 1670; Ib., pp. 323, 325.

[4] His letter, Nov. 24, 1668, says that he refused to give it up in conformity with a letter of the king, dated Aug. 1. He adds: "Those parts and places named in my first orders, were part of one of the colonies of New England, Pentagoët belonging to New Plymouth: Mem. des Commissaires, ii., p. 299. In his letter, Nov. 6, 1616, he takes the ground that some of the places are in Nova Scotia, and that Acadia only is mentioned in the treaty of Breda: Ib., pp. 303, 311.

Matters being thus arranged in regard to Acadia and the Provinces bordering on it, and the court of France having recognized the necessity of facilitating the deriving of any assistance to be had from Quebec, in order to put them beyond reach of a new invasion, it was necessary to open a convenient road between that capital and Port Royal, or Pentagoët;[3] for at first they confined themselves to the restoration of these two posts; Mr. de Courcelles, in the same letter to Colbert in which he solicited his recall, informed that minister that, but for his ill health, he would himself have already carried out this project. On his failure to do so, Mr. Colbert, who had its execution much at heart, sent Mr. Patoulet, Commissary in the Navy, to Acadia, with orders to visit all the posts, and give him an exact account. The visitation was performed with all possible care, but the projected road was not made, and Acadia has ever since remained in the same languid state, from which they seemed so determined to rescue it. The English have continued to conduct abundant fisheries there, which have enriched New England,[4] and that at the time when men were asking in France of what use that province could be? And yet this was only the least of the advantages which it might afford the province.

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[1] Order of Charles II., Aug. 6, 1669: Ib., p. 313.

[2] The commission produced to Temple, bore date July 22, 1669: Memoires des Commissaires du Roi, ii., p. 317.

[3] Mem. des Commis., ii., p. 299.

[4] To prevent the Legislature from forgetting the fishing interests, a wooden codfish has long hung in the hall of the Massachusetts Legislature.

1670.

Affairs of Newfoundland.

The island of Newfoundland had not been less neglected than Acadia, and the king also wished proper measures to be taken to secure the port of Placentia, and all the southern coast on which that port lies. Speaking of this island, where the French had an establishment, near Cape Race, as early as 1504,[1] we stopped at the voyage of Sir Humbert Humfrey,[2] who had taken possession, in 1583, for Queen Elizabeth and himself, that princess having granted him the domain.[3] The vessel on which he was returning to Europe, having been wrecked on Sable Island, where some have declared that he lived two years,[4] his projects and pretensions perished with him, and the French fishermen continued their fisheries on Newfoundland, as they had done for a century back, without dreaming of fortifying their position.

In 1605, John Guyas, of Bristol,[5] revived the projects of the Chevalier Humfrey; he began an establishment at Conception Bay, which was afterwards removed to Saint John; and the English subsequently formed several others on the East coast, from Conception Bay to Cape Race;[6] but beyond that, the right claimed by that nation over the whole island was never recognized either by virtue of the first discovery by John and Sebastian Cabot, under Henry VII., nor by virtue of Gilbert Humfrey's taking possession

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[1] See Ante, vol. i., p. 106. The first English voyage was in 1527, in the Dominus Vobiscum: Hakluyt, iii., p. 129. See, too, Anderson's Colonial Church, i., p. 8.

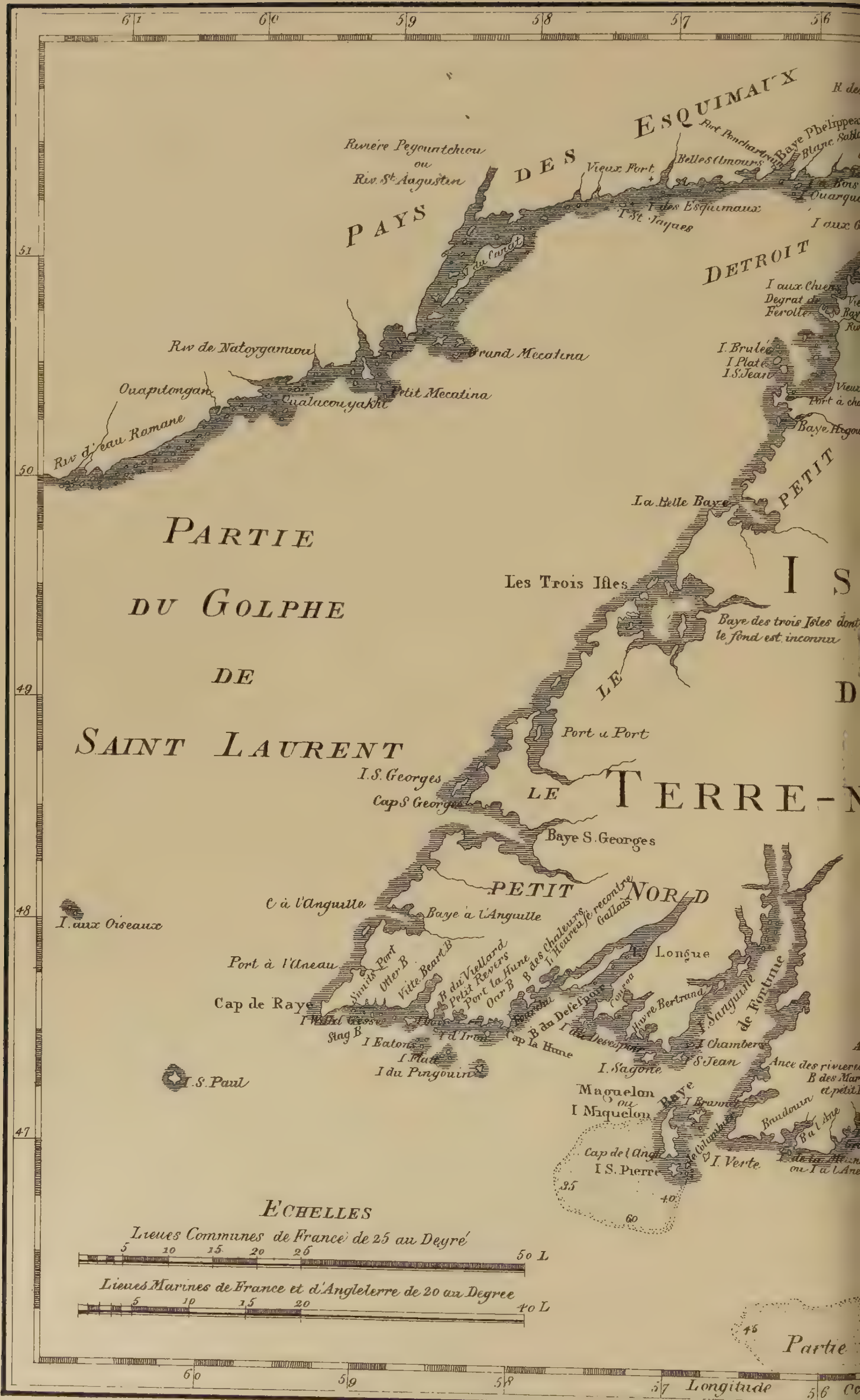
[2] Sir Humphrey Gilbert, brother-in-law of Sir Walter Raleigh. See Patent in Hakluyt, iii., p. 135.

[3] His expedition consisted of four vessels—the Delight, Golden Hind, Swallow, and Squirrel, and reached St. John's, Newfoundland, in August: Hakluyt, iii., p. 48.

[4] After taking possession in the Queen's name, and erecting the English arms, he sailed on, but the Delight was lost, and Sir Humphrey himself went down on the Swallow: Hakluyt, iii., p. 157. Whitbourne's Discourse of Newfoundland, Pedley's History of Newfoundland, p. 13.

[5] John Guy: Purchas Pilgrim, iv., pp. 1879, 1880, 1881; Whitbourne's Discourse of Newfoundland; White's Newfoundland; Voyages au Nord, ix., p. 361.

[6] Among these was the settlement of Lord Baltimore at Ferryland, in Avalon, in 1622: White, p. 361; Whitbourne's Discourse of Newfoundland, pp. 56–71; Purchas, iv., pp. 1879, 1888.


PARTIE DU GOLPHE DE SAINT LAURENT
PAYS DES ESQUIMAUX
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LE PETIT NORD
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Vieux Fort
Belles Amours
Port Ponchartrain
Baye Phelippea
Blanc Sabl
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La Bois
I Ouarqu
I des Esquimaux
I St Jaques
I aux G
I du Carat
Riv de Natoygamiou
Grand Mecatina
Petit Mecatina
Ouapitongan
Cualacouyakhi
Riv d'eau Ramane
I aux Chien
Degrat de Ferolle
Vie
Bay
Ru
I. Brulée
I Plate
I.S.Jean
Vieux
Port à ch
Baye Hagou
La Belle Baye
Les Trois Isles
Baye des trois Isles dont le fond est inconnu
Port a Port
I.S. Georges
Cap S Georges
Baye S.Georges
C à l'Anguille
Baye a l'Anguille
I. aux Oiseaux
Port à l'Aneau
Smits Port
Otter B
Vitte Beart B
B du Viellard
Petit Revers
Port la Hune
Oar B
B des Chaleurs
I. Heureu se recontre
Gallais
Longue
Cap de Raye
I Wild Gosse
Stag B
I Eatons
I Flat
I du Pingouin
I d'Iron
Cap la Hune
B du Desespoir
I du Desespoir
Conpoa
Havre Bertrand
I Sanguine
de Fortune
I Chambers
I S Jean
I. Sagone
Ance des rivier
B des Mar
et petit
I.S. Paul
Maguelon ou I Miquelon
Baye
I Brunet
de Columbier
Baudouin
Ba l'Ane
Cap de l'Ang
I S. Pierre
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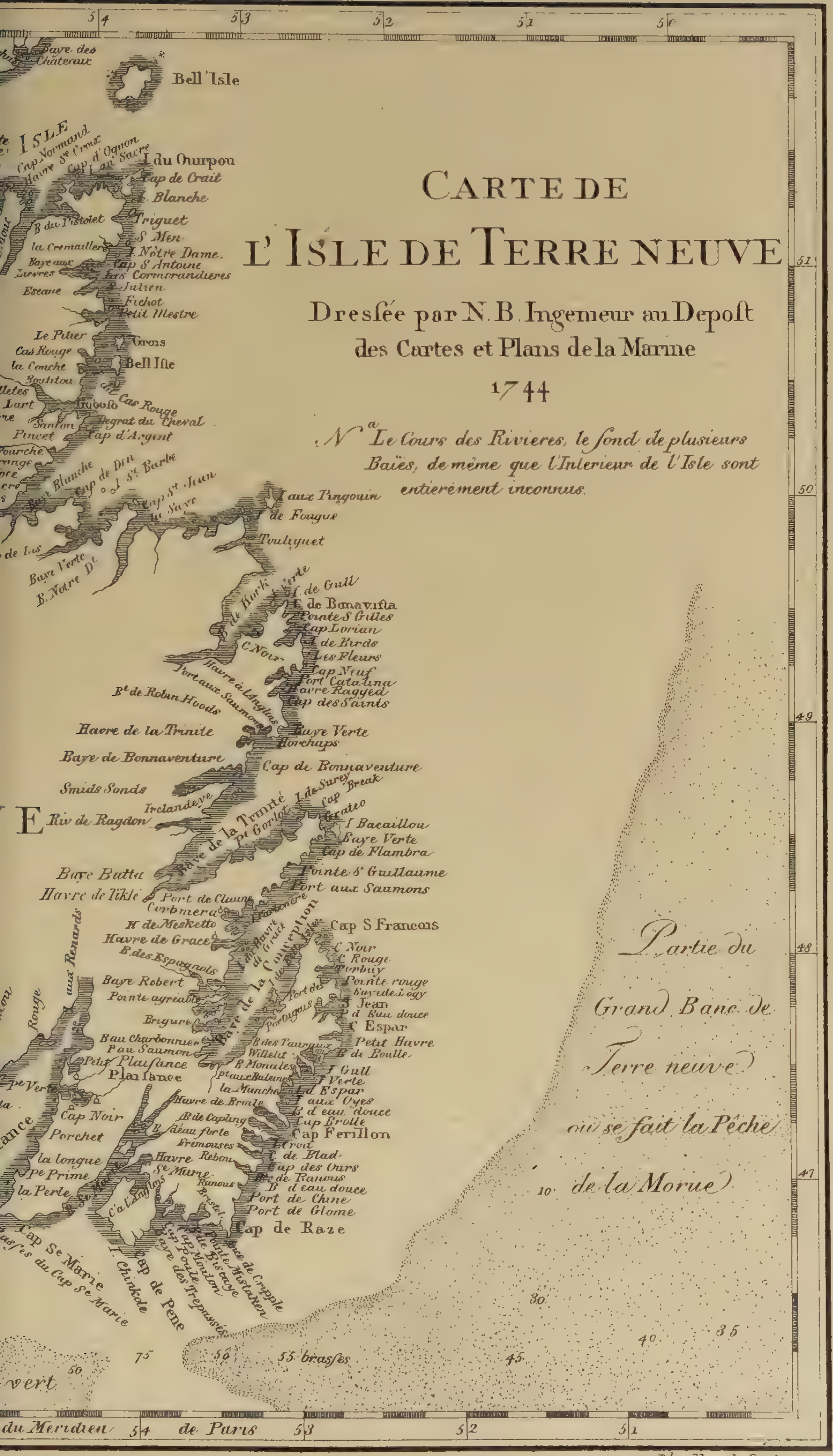


CARTE DE L'ISLE DE TERRE NEUVE

Dreſsée par N. B. Ingenieur au Depoſt
des Cartes et Plans de la Marine
1744

Nª Le Cours des Rivieres, le fond de plusieurs Baïes, de même que l'Interieur de l'Isle sont entierement inconnus.

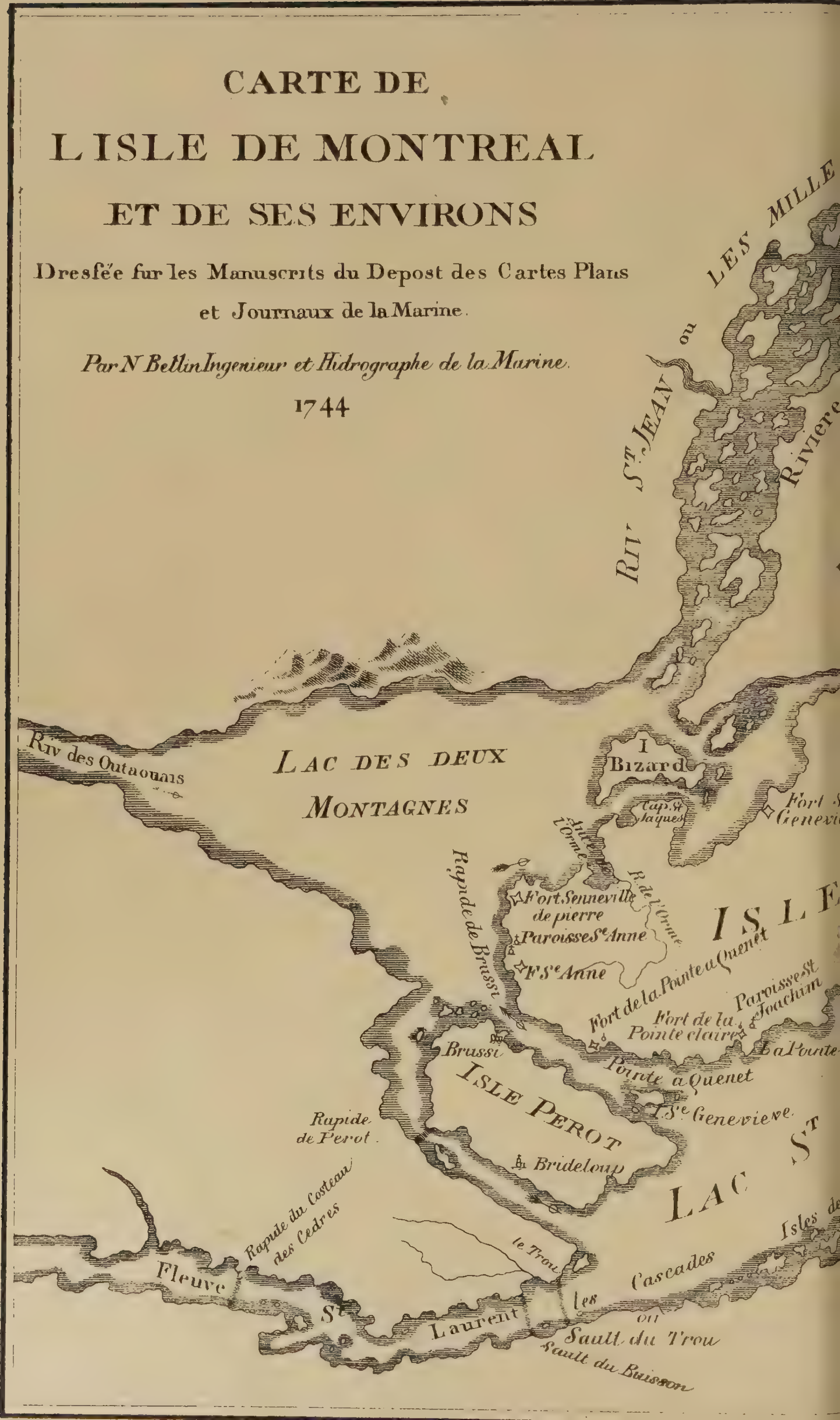
Dheulland Sculp.

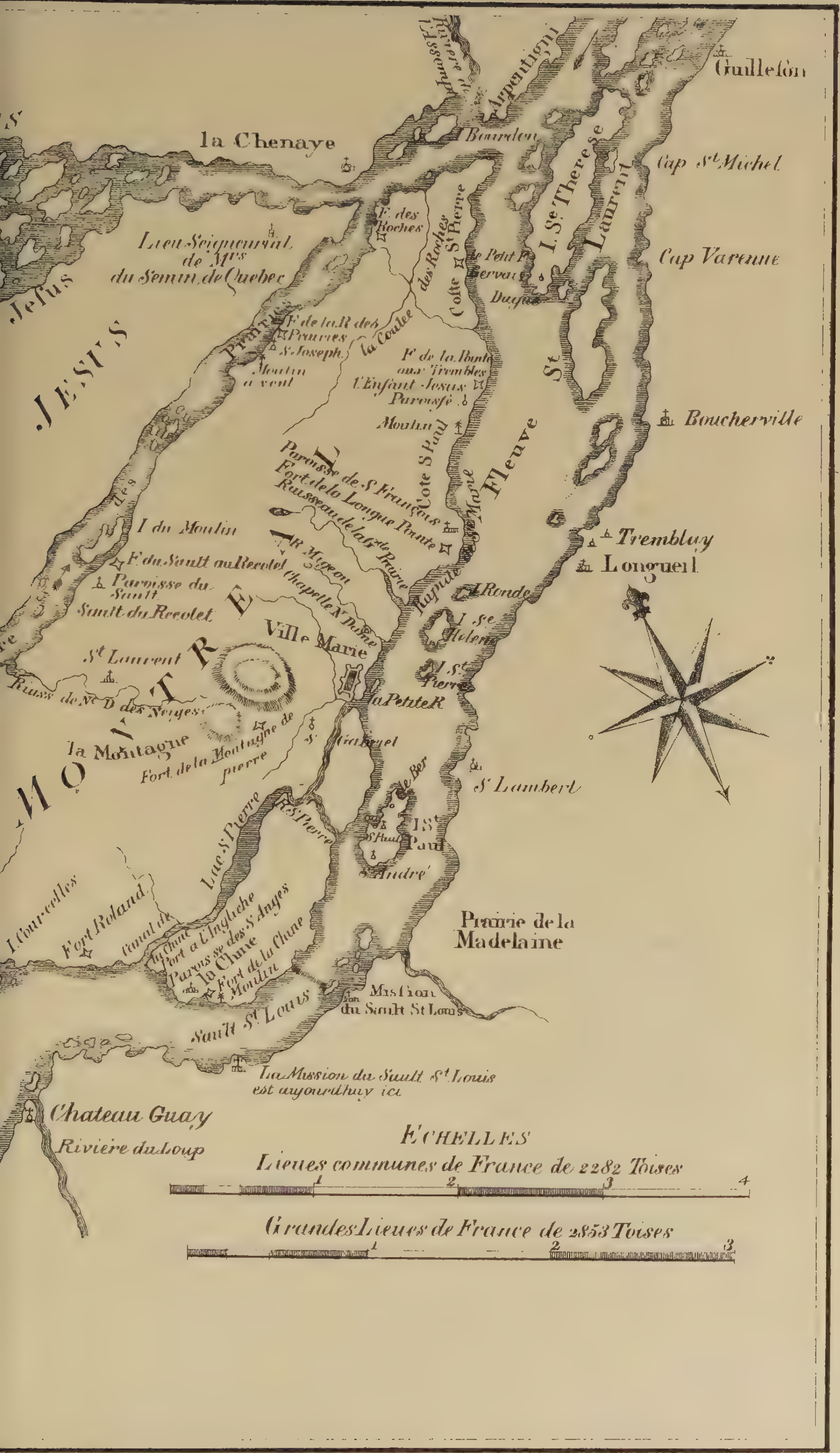
CARTE DE
LISLE DE MONTREAL
ET DE SES ENVIRONS

Dresſée ſur les Manuscrits du Depost des Cartes Plans
et Journaux de la Marine.

Par N Bellin Ingenieur et Hidrographe de la Marine.

1744




Riviere de l'Assomption
Arpentigni
Guilleson
I. Bourdon
la Chenaye
Cap St. Michel
I. Ste. Therese
St. Laurent
Cap Varenne
F. des Roches
Lieu Seigneurial de Mrs du Semin. de Quebec
Jesus
des Roches
Cotte St. Pierre
le Petit F. Gervais
Duguè
F. de la R. des Prairies
St. Joseph
la Coulee
Prairies
JESUS
Moulin a vent
F. de la Pointe aux Trembles
L'Enfant Jesus
Paroisse
Moulin
Fleuve
Boucherville
Cote St. Paul
Paroisse de St. François
Fort de la Longue Pointe
Russeau de la Gde. Prairie
Ste. Marie
Tremblay
Longueil
I. du Moulin
F. du Sault au Recolet
R. Migeon
Paroisse du Sault
Sault du Recolet
Rapide
I. Ronde
Chapelle N. Dame
I. Ste. Helene
Ville Marie
St. Laurent
I. St. Pierre
Russ. de N. D. des Neiges
la Petite R.
MONTREAL
la Montagne
Fort de la Montagne de pierre
St. Gabriel
le Ber
St. Lambert
Lac St. Pierre
R. St. Pierre
I. St. Paul
St. Paul
St. André
I. Courcelles
Fort Roland
Canal de la Chine
Fort a l'Anglois
Paroisse des St. Anges
la Chine
Fort de la Chine
Moulin
Prairie de la Madelaine
Sault St. Louis
Mission du Sault St. Louis
La Mission du Sault St. Louis est aujourd'huy ici
Chateau Guay
Riviere du Loup
ECHELLES
Lieues communes de France de 2282 Toises
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3
4
Grandes Lieues de France de 2853 Toises
1
2
3

under that of Elizabeth, the more especially as both were disputed by the Basques, Bretons, and Normans, for reasons which I have elsewhere explained.[1]

The French, at last, began to settle in Placentia Bay, where they found a commodious harbor, one of the finest, formed by nature, in North America. It is indeed only a port, and the most essential necessaries of life can be obtained only by importation: but as the cod-fishery is extremely abundant, and the place affords every facility for drying the fish, this consideration should alone apparently suffice to induce those whose affair it is to settle Acadia, to give all their care to the cultivation of the soil, which is excellent; these two colonies being in a position to aid each other easily, and by their mutual correspondence enable both to subsist and defend themselves without depending on aid from France and Quebec, which has almost always failed them in the moment of need.

Description of Placentia Bay.

Placentia Bay is eighteen leagues in length, and the port is at the extreme end. The entrance to the bay is a narrow inlet, affording passage for only one ship, but the largest vessels can enter. The port can hold one hundred and fifty, sheltered from every wind, and there they can fish as tranquilly as in a river.[2] Before the inlet lies a roadstead, a league and a half in extent, but not sufficiently sheltered from the north-northwesters, which frequently blow on this coast, and are almost always violent. The channel of the inlet is rendered narrow by dangerous rocks, which must be left on the right, and above which we had built Fort St. Louis.[3] The currents there are violent, and rush over a bed of rock, so that they can be ascended only by towing, by means of a hawser which is fastened on the great Greve.[4]

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[1] Ante, vol. i., p. 106.

[2] De la Potherie, i., p. 15.

[3] La Hontan, ii., p. 32.

[4] *Touer* or *monter à la touë* is to force a vessel along, by hauling in a cable attached to an anchor, which is carried far ahead in a boat in the direction in which it is desired to

1669. The fort was at the foot of a mountain, a little over one hundred and twenty feet high,[1] on which a redoubt had been built. The great Greve, which was a league in extent, lies between two other very steep mountains, one of which, that on the south-southwest, is separated from the Greve by a little stream which issues from the inlet, and forms a kind of lake called the Little Bay. Quantities of salmon are taken here. The great Greve can hold at once a cargo for sixty vessels. There is a smaller one for the use of the colonists, who fish along the land. On both these fish can be dried without any risk. They are beaches covered with galots or flat stones.

Along the little stream just mentioned, were subsequently erected a kind of cabins of fir leaves and branches, called scaffolds, to dry the codfish in rainy seasons.[2] The houses of the settlers were quite near, and formed a street which constituted the town of Placentia. Fort St. Louis rendered us masters of all the southern part of Newfoundland, and of the islands of St. Pierre,[3] which lie off it, and are inhabited, as well as Chapeau Rouge, and some other places on the coast. The St. Malo men fish a little farther on at a place called Petit Nord. The fish are smaller here than in Placentia Bay, but are better adapted for the Mediterranean and Levant Trade.[4]

Authors who have treated of this island, are far from agreeing with each other; some aver that the sky is almost

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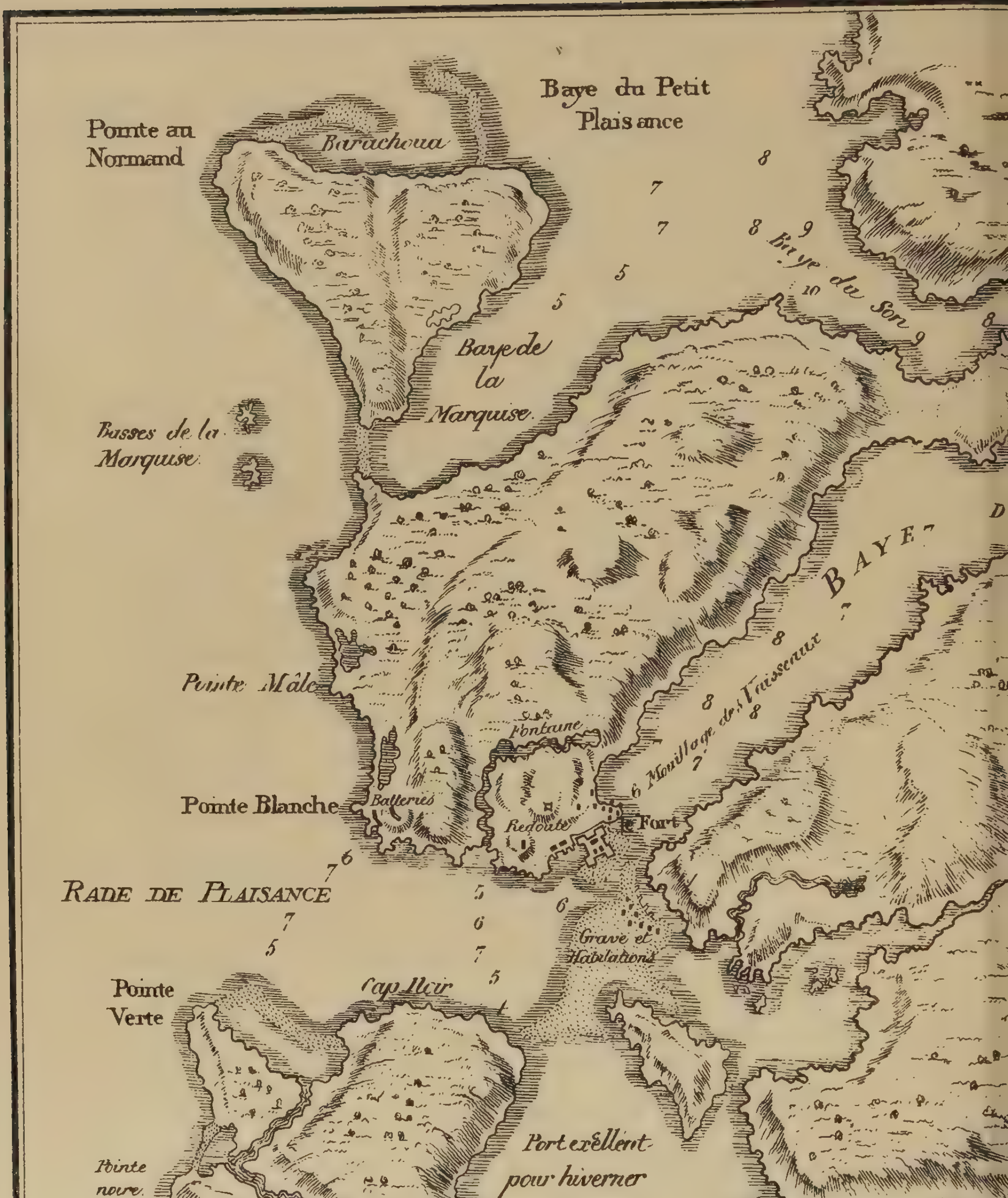
go. These cables are of three strands, and are called *aussieres*. They say Gréve in America: the French word is Grave.—*Charlevoix.*

[1] De la Potherie says 130 toises. See, as to the two forts here, White's Newfoundland, Voyages au Nord, ix., p. 383, and la Hontan's plan of La Grande Baye de Plaisance, vol. i., p. 24; for their present state, Bishop Mullock's Lectures on Newfoundland, p. 15.

[2] De la Potherie, Hist. de l'Amérique Septentrionale, x., pp. 15–16. This author gives a view of a scaffold, as well as of a house with a sheep pastured on the roof.

[3] This little island and that of Miquelon now constitute all that is left to France of the vast possessions whose history Charlevoix gives in these volumes.

[4] On Bellin's map, Le Petit Nord seems applied to the whole western coast: Canada Documents, III., iii., pp. 3–9.



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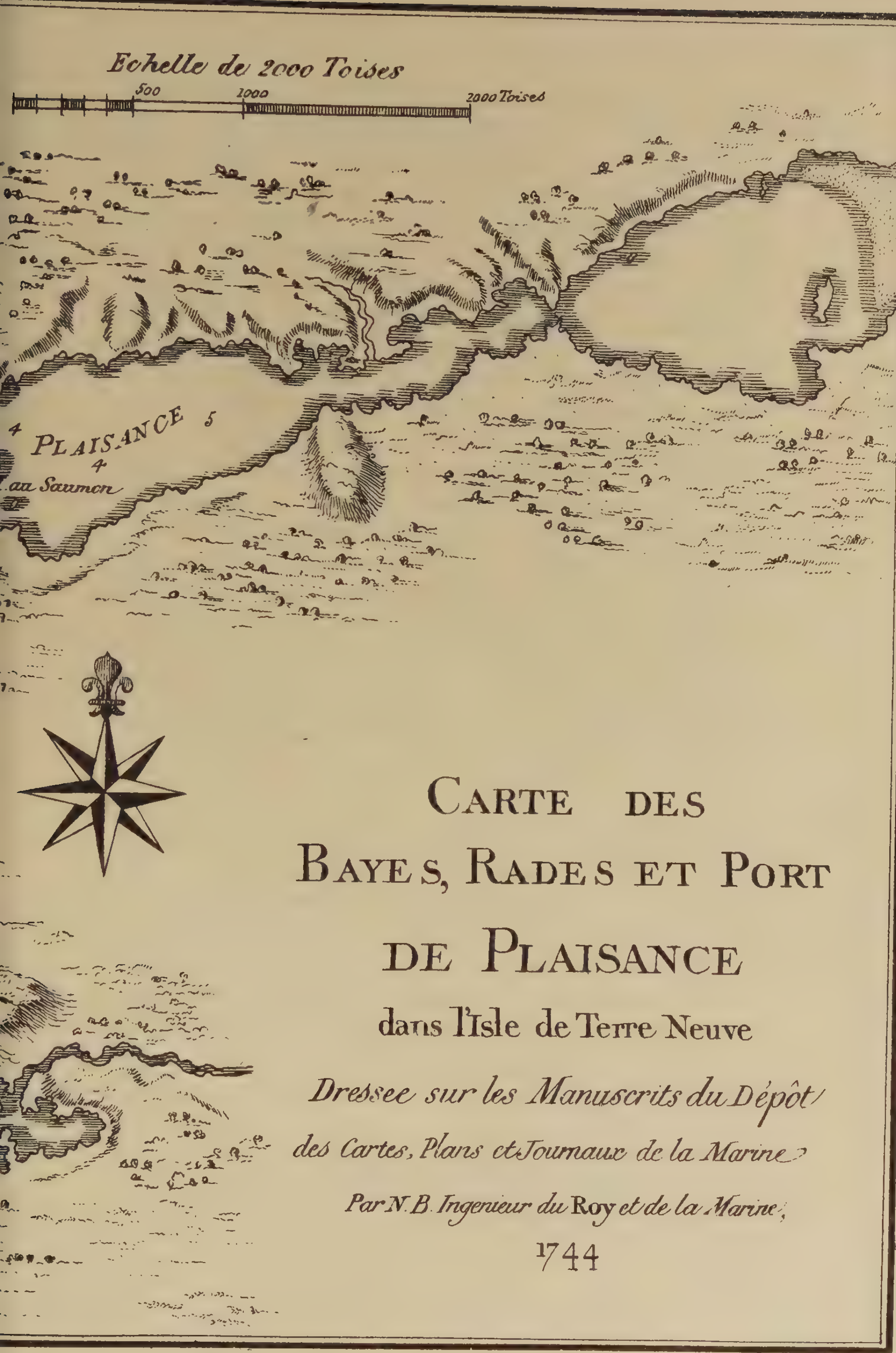

CARTE DES
BAYES, RADES ET PORT
DE PLAISANCE
dans l'Isle de Terre Neuve
Dressee sur les Manuscrits du Dépôt
des Cartes, Plans et Journaux de la Marine
Par N. B. Ingenieur du Roy et de la Marine,
1744

Dheulland Sculp

always serene, that there are fine forests, fields covered with flowers and strawberries; that the bushes are almost all raspberries, with fruit of marvellous taste;[1] that the water is good; that there are fertile valleys; that it produces spontaneously a kind of barley, which is very nutritious; that game swarms on all sides, and that wild animals, such as caribous, moose, stags, bears, foxes, deer, and beaver, are found by the thousand. 1669.

Others, on the contrary, represent Newfoundland as a fearful country, and say that this island is almost everywhere a moss-covered rock; that in the fine season a quantity of strawberries and raspberries are gathered; but that it produces no other fruit; that the wood is good for nothing, and hunting, except for partridges and river birds, impracticable, on account of the precipitous mountains that cover the country;[2] that the fogs of the Great Bank extend to the island, and that it rarely enjoys a fine sun; and when the sun does appear in summer, its ardor is intolerable, and burns the fish on the Greves. Finally, that for six months of the year the cold is excessive.

To reconcile these two opinions, we have only to distinguish the different quarters of the island, which have been frequented by Europeans. It is true, that the southern and eastern shores have not usually a very clear sky, and I have elsewhere observed that this comes from its vicinity to the Great Bank, where an almost eternal fog prevails. But this is not the case in the northern and western sections, where winter and summer are very serene. As to the interior of the island, that can be spoken of only from conjecture; for it is almost impossible to penetrate far inland; and I could never hear that any person had ever

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[1] De la Potherie, Hist. de l'Amérique Sept., i., p. 19; White's Newfoundland; Voyages au Nord, ix., p. 359

[2] La Hontan, Memoires de l'Amérique Septentrionale, ii., p. 31.

1669. yet done it. Among those who have advanced farthest, it may be that some perceived fine valleys, while others discovered only precipitous rocks. There are no mountains without valleys, but these valleys are sometimes precipices, or filled with rocks and sterile sands. Moreover, in so extensive a country, it is impossible but that there is some variety.

In the neighborhood of the port and bay of Placentia there are ponds and streams, which attract quantities of game; but it is almost impossible to hunt wild animals in parts so little frequented, and almost impracticable. Hence they must multiply infinitely, and no one can profit by it, except rarely and by accident. Nor can the cold fail to be very severe in that island, not so much on account of its situation between the 46th and 52d degrees of north latitude, as on account of its mountains and woods, the west and north wind which often prevail, and especially of those monstrous icebergs, which, coming from the northern seas, are arrested by its shores and long remain there. Finally, it is not surprising that the heat should be extreme in open spots where the sun darts its rays on bare rocks and beaches covered with pebbles, which reflect them on all sides.

Its native inhabitants.

Nor do writers better agree as to the native inhabitants of Newfoundland, than on the character of the interior of the country. From the expressions used by some historians, they lead us to infer that they believed it inhabited; but according to the more common opinion, it is not inhabited by any sedentary nation. On the coasts none are seen but Esikmaux, who pass over to it from the mainland of Labrador, in order to hunt and to trade with the Europeans; but these Indians have often spoken of other tribes with whom they have commercial intercourse. They intermingle, it is true, much that is fabulous with all that they say about it, as I have elsewhere remarked, and it is difficult to conceive how whole nations can keep themselves so shut up in the centre of an island, however extensive it may be, that no individual belonging to it should ever be seen on the coast.[1]

The Great Bay.

The channel which separates the island of Newfoundland from the continent of America, is called the Strait of Belle Isle; it runs northwest and southwest. After passing it, descending southward, you find at 50° on the mainland of Labrador, a great bay, where we have a fort that bears the name of Ponchartrain. This post now belongs to Tilly de Courtemanche,[2] a Canadian gentleman, a Norman by origin. The codfishery is abundant; but there is no profit to be made with the Indians, who are the most intractable of all men, and whom they have despaired of ever improving.

Yet we have, on the whole, turned Newfoundland to better account than Acadia, which is not, however, much inferior to it in the general fishery, and with which it cannot enter into comparison in other respects; but the profit was actually visible, and did not require a great capital; nor were settlements required, which need concert and resolution, but simply a four or five months' voyage, at the end of which they return to the bosom of their family.

Much stress, too, was laid on the convenience of the port of Placentia, which was deemed a necessary stopping-place for ships returning from the French and Spanish isles in the West Indies; as though Acadia did not offer ports as commodious much nearer, more easy of access, and where they could be supplied with stores that they

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[1] A century has not settled this question. It is still a matter of doubt who are the native inhabitants of the island, and what are their numbers, etc. As to these Beoths, or Red Indians, see Bishop Mullock's Lectures on Newfoundland (1860), p. 9; and Pedley's History of Newfoundland (1863), pp. 227, 338, 482, 508; Charlevoix Journal, p. 178.

[2] See Canada Documents, II., x., p. 452; Ferland's Labrador, p. 305; Hind's Labrador, ii., p. 128. Near St. Paul's River is the port of Brest, frequented in Jacques Cartier's day, and represented about 1600 as the chief post in New France: Robert's Dictionary of Commerce. It is the *Vieux Fort* on the map of Newfoundland in this volume. The old Esquimaux fort was on St. Paul's Bay.

1669. could not expect to find at Placentia. Still the high estimation with which they were prepossessed in favor of this last port, which it was indeed of great importance for us to preserve, has caused it to be visited from time to time by royal squadrons, and the neighborhood of the English has given rise to several expeditions, redounding to the glory of our nation, as we shall see in the sequel of this history.

There is not one of these posts, which these annoying neighbors have occupied there, from which we have not driven them more than once; our brave Canadians having found the secret of gathering laurels in the most arid country in the world, and almost always amid snow and ice. A stroke of the pen has deprived us of the fruit of so many victories.[1] The island of Newfoundland, large as it is, could not contain all our fishermen and those of England, as Sicily of old could not satisfy the ambition of Rome and Carthage; yet with this difference, that Sicily remained entirely in the hands of those who wrested it from their rivals; while Newfoundland has been left to those who were always beaten there.

First Governor of Placentia. 1660.

Before the year 1660, the court of France had interfered but little in the affairs of the island; it left almost all in the hands of individuals, who, at their own cost, fitted out fishing vessels to send there. At last, this same year, Sieur Gargot obtained from the king a grant of the port of Placentia, with a commission as governor.[2] He met great opposition to his taking possession, and he was apparently obliged to desist at first from his rights, and maintained his title of governor but for a short time; for, after a few years, the Sieur de la Poype having been sent to Placentia with a royal commission to take possession, in the king's name, of the fort and settlement at that place, and remain there in the character of governor, it was laid down in his instructions: That his majesty had been induced to secure that spot, and establish a colony there to maintain his subjects in the right which they had long possessed, of going there every year to carry on a considerable fishery of dry fish, and by the fear of their being forestalled by the English: that he had annually incurred considerable expense to enable the inhabitants to subsist by their labor: that the fishery had appeared to him the surest and readiest way to succeed; but that the commandants had apparently endeavored to use this to oblige the inhabitants to give them a portion of their fishery in exchange for provisions, which they distributed among them, although these were drawn from the king's storehouses: that Sieur de la Poype was to put an end positively to this disorder, and examine whether by leaving the inhabitants of the colony all the fruit of their labor, they will be in a state to subsist the whole year through, or at least a part of the year, and that in case they needed help, he should inform his majesty what they would require of him, whether provisions or merchandise, against which they could give in exchange the profit of their fishery; which joined to the cultivation of the soil, the raising of cattle and hunting, by which also they could aid themselves, would, in a short time, put them at their ease.[1]

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[1] France gave up Newfoundland by the treaty of Utrecht: Mem. des Commis., ii., p. 127; § 13, of Treaty.

[2] Canada Doc., III., iii., p. 12.

Mr. Talon returns to Canada.

Such was the state of affairs in all parts of New France when Mr. Talon returned to resume the functions of Intendant.[2] During his whole sojourn in Europe, he had been occupied with nothing scarcely but Canadian matters. He had especially in view the restoration of the Recollect Fathers, who, on their side, were on the alert in regard to it. The Company of a Hundred Associates had constantly refused its consent for reasons which I have touched upon elsewhere;[3] and this refusal, although it

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[1] Canada Doc., III., iii., pp. 12–49.

[2] Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1670, p. 2; Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 87.

[3] Ante, vol. ii., p. 65. Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi., i., pp. 432–514, details the efforts of the Recollects to return to Canada.

1669. regarded them only in general as a mendicant order, had been very mortifying to them. Among the colonists opinions were divided; some, and in fact the majority, still thought as the Company had done; others desired the Recollects in hopes of finding them less rigid than the secular clergy and the Jesuits, in regard to the liquor trade, and some other disorders, which began to revive again in Canada.

He brings back the Recollects.

They were undoubtedly deceived; but as they incessantly clamored that consciences were hampered;[1] Mr. Talon thought it best to put them in the wrong; and it must be admitted that if the clamors of libertines contributed to the recall of these religious to America, a bad cause never produced a more happy effect. These Fathers have since that time rendered and still render great services to all this colony, where they are much beloved, and are at least as well established as those who returned thirty-five years before them.[2]

He is shipwrecked with them.

It was in 1669, that they obtained of the king the edict for their re-establishment.[3] Father Cæsarius Herveau, accompanied by two other priests and a lay brother, embarked for Quebec on the 15th of July in that year, with Mr. Talon and a party of the five hundred families, whom the king had granted to that Intendant to settle Canada; but after three months' very stormy navigation, the ship which was conveying them was forced to put into Lisbon, and having cleared from that port towards the end of December to return to Rochelle, it was lost almost in sight of port, and only a part of those on board were saved.[4]

In the month of May following, Father Germain Allard,

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[1] Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 84; Talon, Memoire sur l'Etat du Canada (Quebec, 1840), p. 3.

[2] That is, the Jesuits.

[3] Edict, Letter of Louis XIV. to F. Allard, cited by Faillon, Histoire de la Colonie, iii., p. 198; Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 87.

[4] Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 87. Father Herveau's companions were Fathers Romuald Papillion and Hilarion Guenin, with the lay brother Cosmas Graveran. Father Romuald died at sea: Ib. M. Mary of the Incarnation: Lettres, p. 646.

Provincial of the Recollects, and afterwards Bishop of Vence, embarked with Mr. Talon, who had filled up his quota of settlers by means of some companies of Carignan, which had returned to France; three other priests of the order,[1] a deacon named Brother Luke, esteemed for his paintings,[2] and a lay brother. Their voyage was prosperous,[3] and the Provincial, after putting his religious in possession of the lands at Quebec, which they had occupied before the English invasion, returned to France.[4] The accident by which Mr. Talon's vessel was lost the year before, was like a general tempest, which extended its effects to Quebec, where it caused a damage of one hundred thousand francs. Nevertheless, they consoled themselves for this loss more easily than they did for that of the settlers, of which it had deprived the colony. The only thought then was of peopling the country, and they were not as scrupulous as they had been in the choice of settlers; the consequence was, that vices theretofore unknown were soon prevalent.

Indians assassinated by Frenchmen.

Sometime before Mr. Talon's arrival, three French soldiers having met an Iroquois chief, who had a large quantity of furs, plied him with liquor, and, when he was intoxicated, murdered him. Notwithstanding the precautions which they took to conceal their crime, they were discovered and thrown into prison.[5] While their trial was progressing, three other Frenchmen found six Mohegans who had goods to the value of a thousand crowns; they, too, rendered the Indians intoxicated, and after mur-

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[1] Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., 88. The king, by Lettres de Cachet, April 4, 1670, ordered Father Allart to go in person with four friars. His companions were Father Gabriel de la Ribourde, Simplicius Landon, Hilarion Guesnin, Brother Luke le François, and Brother Anselm Bardou, lay brother.

[2] For Br. Luke le François' paintings, see Le Clercq, ii., p. 96.

[3] The voyage was long, and they were nearly wrecked at Tadoussac: Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1670, p. 2.

[4] Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., pp. 91–93. Their new chapel was opened Oct. 4: Ib., p. 93.

[5] Mother Mary of the Incarnation, Lettres, Oct., 1669; Lettres, p. 645. The assassins were three soldiers of the garrison of Montreal.

1670. dering them, had the effrontery to go and sell their booty, passing it off as the fruit of their own hunting; they did not even take pains to make away with the bodies of their victims, which were recognized by some of their own tribe.[1]

The result. These at first suspected the Iroquois, with whom they had just concluded a treaty of peace, and they were preparing to make reprisals, when a rumor arose that Frenchmen had committed the deed. One of the three murderers, falling out with his accomplices, revealed it to a friend, who did not keep his secret; it soon spread from mouth to mouth, till it reached the Indians, and the two tribes which were on the point of engaging in a bloody war, joined against us. The Mohegans were the first in the field, and four of their braves were so hardy as to besiege a French house in open day. The master was absent, but his servants made a vigorous defence; two Indians were killed, but the other two having set fire to the house, it was impossible to extinguish the flames or rescue the mistress, who was burnt to death.[2]

The Iroquois, on their side, were not slow in learning the particulars of the murder committed on the person of their chief, and they were even assured that two of the murderers had been accused by the third of a plot to poison all Indians of their nation whom they could find. It did not require all this to rouse them to fury, and they resolved to carry their resentment to the last extremity. The French had not a moment to lose, to escape being plunged once more in a war which could not but be disastrous in its consequences; and Mr. de Courcelles, who conceived at a glance the whole importance of this affair, at once started for Montreal, where, as he had learned, Indians from all the nations, Iroquois even, and Mohegans had just arrived.

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[1] Charlevoix here follows Mother Mary of the Incarnation (p. 645), but this murder really preceded the other. It was committed during the winter of 1668–9, by three Frenchmen. The victims were Oneidas: Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1670, pp. 2, 45, 76. Three men, a woman, and two children, who were killed on the River Mascouche: Faillon, Histoire de la Colonie, iii., p. 321, citing Declaration of La Salle, July 5, 1669, and sentence by d'Ailleboust, Sept. 14, 1669, in the Prothonotary's office, Montreal. The murderers of this party escaped, but were tried and condemned: Faillon, pp. 326, 327.

[2] Mother Mary of the Incarnation: Ib. The fact is not stated elsewhere.

Justice done and the Indians appeased.

He assembled them as soon as he landed, and told them by the mouth of Father Chaumonot, who spoke Huron and Algonquin with equal facility,[1] such plain truths, to convince them that it was their common interest to remain united with the French, that they were influenced. He then had the three soldiers brought in, who had assassinated the Iroquois chief, and had them tomahawked[2] before their eyes. This prompt justice disarmed the Iroquois, who could not, it is said, withhold their tears at the sad end of these wretches. The Governor-General said that he would neglect no means to secure the arrest of the murderers of the Mohegans, and that he would treat them as he had just treated the others. In conclusion, he made compensation to the two nations for what had been taken, and the assembly broke up well satisfied.

Mr. de Courcelles obliges all the nations to remain in peace.

This affair thus happily terminated, there remained another, not less important or less delicate. The Ottawas and Iroquois began once more to send war parties against each other, and there was reason to fear that these sparks would produce a general conflagration. Mr. de Courcelles, who always assumed a very high tone with the Indians, and who had in this way taught them to respect him, told both parties that he would no longer permit them to disturb the peace of the nations, and that he would punish with the same severity that he had just exercised before their eyes on Frenchmen, all who refused to agree to reasonable conditions. Both were accordingly to send him

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[1] It is nowhere stated that he understood Algonquin, not even in his Life.

[2] Mother Mary of the Incarnation. Lettres, p. 645; Relation, 1670, p. 4. Charlevoix says, "fit casser la tête." They were apparently shot: Dollier de Casson, Histoire de Montreal. They were executed, July 6, 1669: Faillon, iii., p. 324.

1670. deputies, then he would listen to their complaints, and do justice to all.[1]

He was obeyed; the chiefs of all the nations came to Quebec; those who deemed themselves aggrieved, made their complaints, and by the prudence of Garakontié, who had come to represent his canton, and the firmness of the Governor-General, concord was established to the general satisfaction.[2] Garakontié then addressed the Ottawas on the unbecoming manner in which they treated the missionaries, whom the French had, he said, the goodness to intrust to them, and as though he had awaited the occasion of some such numerous gathering, to make profession of his faith, he declared himself publicly a worshipper of Jesus Christ.[3]

Baptism of Garakontié.

He added that he had long been a Christian in heart, that he had all his life detested the superstition in which he had been brought up, and that he could no longer delay securing for himself the benefit which he had enabled so many others to obtain. Then addressing the bishop, who was present, he conjured him to receive him without delay into the number of the children of God. All concurred to induce the prelate to grant such a proselyte what he so earnestly sought. An apostle before he avowed himself a Christian, he had always appeared to have the establishment of Christianity in his nation as much at heart as the missionaries themselves, and the whole colony was under the deepest obligations to him.

Nothing, moreover, was more adapted to accredit religion among all the nations of this continent than to let their deputies witness the conversion of a man so generally esteemed. The bishop, accordingly, had no hesitation in admitting this illustrious proselyte into the bosom of the church; he knew that he was sufficiently instructed, and baptized him himself. The governor-general acted as godfather, and Mademoiselle de Bouterouë, daughter of the intendant as godmother. The former gave him the name of Daniel, which he bore himself. Nothing was omitted to give lustre to the ceremony, all the deputies of the Indian nations attended, and were afterwards plentifully feasted.[1]

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[1] The conduct of de Courcelle is somewhat magnified. He sent belts to Oneida and Seneca, which were received quite coldly: Relation, 1670, pp. 76, 77.

[2] The Relation (1670, p. 2) represents the coming of the Iroquois deputies to meet the Ottawas as the spontaneous work of Garakontié. He arrived at Montreal just as the last band of Ottawas, in 80 or 90 canoes, came in. De Courcelle would not come to meet them, but summoned all to Quebec. The proceedings are given in the Relation, 1670, pp. 4–6.

[3] Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1670, p. 5.

Mortality in the North.

While Mr. de Courcelles thus maintained his colony in profound peace, and adopted the most sagacious measures to meet whatever could disturb the good understanding between the French and Indians, the North of Canada was ravaged by a contagious disease, which almost entirely completed the depopulation of those vast countries.[2] Many Christians died in their baptismal innocence, and in sentiments which tended greatly to console the gospel laborers for so many losses![3] The Attikamegues among others have not appeared since those times, and if some remain, they must be intermingled with other tribes who have no intercourse with us.[4]

Then too, it was, that Tadoussac, where hitherto scarcely ever less than twelve hundred Indians were seen at the time of trade, began to be almost entirely abandoned,[5] as well as Three Rivers, from which the Algonquins withdrew to Cap de la Magdeleine;[6] but there was this difference between these two posts, that the French continued at the latter, while the former, where we had no permanent

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[1] Relation de la N. F., 1670, ch. ii., pp. 6–7; 1673–9, pp. 186–9.

[2] Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1670, p. 7. Chaumonot. Ib., p. 20, says: "For the last year the small-pox has furiously desolated this colony. The Montagnais and Algonquins have almost all died of it."

[3] Relation, 1670, pp. 7, 14, etc.

[4] The Attikamegues are not mentioned after 1658, except as individuals. Albanel speaks of a woman in Relation, 1670, p. 14. See as to them the Relation, 1641, p. 29.

[5] Relation de la N. F., 1670, p. 11.

[6] Ib., p. 14.

1670. establishment, has remained deserted.[1] This mortality was caused especially by small-pox,[2] which some years later entirely destroyed the town of Syllery. Fifteen hundred Indians were attacked and not one recovered.

Establishment of the Huron town of Lorette.

The Hurons, although always intermingled with the French, who communicated the disease to the Indians, escaped it better than other tribes;[3] and it was about this time that Father Chaumonot having collected them all two leagues from Quebec, founded the Mission of Lorette,[4] now more flourishing in the fervor of those who inhabit that settlement than by their number. At this time, too, an event occurred which showed that not in vain did they labor to sow the seed of the Word in the Iroquois cantons, and especially in that of the Mohawk, at all times most opposed to the missionaries.

The Dutch and the Iroquois Christian squaws.

Some Dutch people settled near this canton, attempted to disseminate their dogmas among these neophytes, and tried the women first, hoping to succeed more easily. They attacked them especially on the Devotion to the Mother of God, the worship of Saints, the Cross, and Images; but they found instructed Christian women, firm in the belief of what had been taught them on these points. Ministers then tried to inspire them with distrust of their missionaries. This plan met with still less success; these good Christians replied even in a way that covered them with confusion, reproaching them with the fact that no one could see in them either the piety, regularity, or disinterestedness which rendered their pastors so worthy of respect, and which had at all times seemed to them a strong argument in favor of the doctrines they taught.

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[1] Jefferys, French Dominions, p. 3.

[2] Father Albanel the missionary at Tadoussac, was likewise attacked by it. Relation, 1670, p. 10.

[3] Almost all the Hurons were seized with the small-pox. Chaumonot in Relation, 1670, p. 20, who attributes their recovery to Our Lady of Foye. The mission was then called "Annunciation of our Lady," and was near Quebec, at a place which now bears the name of Ste. Foie, a corruption of Notre Dame de Foye, so called by Chaumonot after a sanctuary of that name near Dinan in Belgium. Relation, 1671, p. 7; 1672, p. 2; 1673, p. 1; Relations Inédites, i., pp. 149, 295.

[4] Loretto, Ancienne Lorette, was founded in pursuance of a long-cherished desire of Father Chaumonot, who had visited the celebrated sanctuary in Italy. He erected a chapel, which was an exact counterpart in size and arrangement of the Santa Casa. See Chaumonot, Autobiographie, pp. 90–4; Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1673–9, pp. 260–1; Relations Inédites, i., p. 305. It was opened, November 4, 1674.

The Dutch thought that they would succeed better, by intimidation, and gave them to understand that it would not be very safe for them to appear in the settlements of New York with their beads and other marks of the Roman faith; but they laughed at these threats, and declared that they would be only too happy to lay down their lives in defence of their faith. One was even bold enough to enter a meeting while the minister was giving instruction, and there recite her prayers before them all. These heroines, who were generally heads of cabins, showed no less zeal to prevent any thing being done in the towns prejudicial to Christianity; they took very great care to instruct their children well, and their fervor, supported by their influence, led the preachers of the Faith to conceive great hopes of seeing the Christian religion one day become the prevailing religion in this canton.[1]

Address of a missionary and its success.

At first very few adults presented themselves to receive baptism, nor did all who sought it obtain their request from lack of perseverance, or because they would not renounce their unjust wars or their superstitions; but a trifle, which Father Pearon[2] who governed that church, had the dexterity to convert into a serious affair, disposed many to range themselves among his neophytes. A chief one day undertook to silence him in a public assembly, and on another occasion commanded him to leave the council, wishing to be free to perform some superstitious ceremony, which he knew the missionary would not approve. The Father thought it expedient to show his displeasure; he even declared that he could no longer con-

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[1] Relation, 1670, pp. 32–6.

[2] John Pierron came to Canada, June 27, 1667, and returned to Europe in 1678. He belonged to the Province of Champagne. Carayon, Doc. Inédits, xiv.

1670. tinue in a place where they did not hesitate to insult him; but that he would not answer for the way in which Onontbio would take his withdrawal, when he knew what had forced him to retire.

The missionary was far from entertaining in heart any such resentment as he evinced; but among the Indians one affront draws out another, covers the one who bears it with contempt, and deprives him of all credit. True patience, the fruit of charity and humility of heart, must, commonly speaking, raise us above all these considerations; yet prudence must regulate it by circumstances. It required time to render the Indians capable of appreciating all the greatness of soul contained in Christian humility, and Father Pearon was well satisfied that the Iroquois would omit nothing to appease him, and prevent his carrying his complaints to the governor-general: nor was he deceived, except in that he acquired greater advantage than he had expected.

Great progress of Christianity in the Mohawk canton.

The Iroquois chiefs came that very day to make him in public many apologies for having insulted him, and the missionary after accepting them quite graciously, profited by the disposition in which he saw all minds to express his regret at the indocility of most of them in not yielding to the great truths, which he announced to them: he added that he could no longer tolerate so many odd customs, nor their attachment to fables, the absurdity of which he had so often shown them; that since he was losing his time speaking to a people that would not hearken either to the voice of Heaven or that of reason, he considered it his duty to bear to other parts the word of God. The chief sought to justify himself; but the Father replied in the tone which he had assumed, and of which he already perceived the good effect. "I see clearly," said the Indian, "that to appease you, we must all become Christians. If it depends on me, you shall soon have that satisfaction."[1]

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[1] Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1670, pp. 39–40.

He then took him apart, and suggested to him the means which he considered best fitted to obtain his desire. He promised him to use every endeavor to gain the sachems: he visited them all, and when he thought them in the desired disposition he convoked a general assembly, in which he spoke as a real missionary. Father Pearon then rose and completely shook the obstinacy of all present; in which he was marvellously seconded by Garakonthié, whom chance, or rather a Divine Providence had brought to the village,[1] so that by unanimous consent, three resolutions were adopted, which were supported by presents, and all that could render them irrevocable.

The first not to permit any public invocation of Agreskoué,[2] or even recognize him as Author of Life; the second, not in future to call in medicine men to see the sick; and the third to abolish superstitious and indecent dances. This was almost authentically proclaiming the Christian religion, the only one of which it was permitted to make public profession: and in fact the whole town subsequently came very assiduously to the missionary's instructions. The sequel did not, indeed, correspond to the hopes that an affair so well managed, led men to conceive; but most of those who profited by this first ray of grace, and did not too long defer avowing themselves Christians, always inviolably preserved their baptismal promises, and merited to become founders of one of

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[1] Gandaouagué, the modern Caughnawaga. It was here that Jogues had been killed. See Ante, Vol. II., p. 146.

[2] The Hurons say Ariskoui, and the Iroquois, Agreskoué. *Charlevoix.* The Huron missionaries wrote it with a pause after the first letter, giving nearly the same sound as the Iroquois. As to this deity, called also Teharonhiawagon, see Lafitau, Mœurs des Sauvages, i., p. 132; Jogues, Letter, August 5, 1643; Relation, 1670, pp. 47, 66; ib., 1671, p. 17; Cusick's Ancient History of the Six Nations, p. 20. The rejection of Agreskoué effected at this time was permanent; he is apparently now unknown to the Iroquois, and even in their pagan rites they worship Niio (Dieu) or Hawennio (He is the Lord) Cuoq, Etudes Philologiques, p. 14. In Morgan's League of the Iroquois there is not the slightest trace of Agreskoué or Tharonhiawagon.

1670. the most flourishing Christian communities which North America has beheld, as we shall soon show.

State of religion in the other cantons.

Father Bruyas did not reap near as much fruit in the canton of Oneida. A quantity of liquor had been brought in there from New York, and drunkenness caused fearful disorders. Moreover, no man of mark and no matron of influence had declared in favor of the missionary. The people did not even go to his instructions, and his sole consolation was the great number of children, whom he baptized at death, and with whom he peopled heaven. A visit which Garakonthié paid this canton, gave rise to a gleam of hope that things would change in appearance, and it was not the fault of that zealous neophyte if the Oneidas did not correspond to the impressions of grace, which called to them; but he derived scarcely any fruit from his zeal. All went better in the other three cantons. The strong liquors of the English and Dutch did not reach them as easily as it did Oneida. Garakonthié had more influence, the Huron Christians were in greater numbers there, and the war with the Andastes, in which the upper Iroquois had recently sustained pretty severe losses, having humbled their pride, also rendered them more docile.[1]

Among the Algonquin nations.

Next to the Iroquois missions, those established among the upper Algonquins,[2] more particularly attracted the attention of those who governed New France. They opened a vast field to the publication of the gospel, and gave a great liberty to trade. Sault St. Mary was the centre, and to fix the Indians there, the missionaries cleared extensive grounds and sowed a quantity of grain, the cultivation of which did not require much preparation. This succeeded, and in the first two years, they baptized at least three hundred persons, most of them apparently dying children.

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[1] Relation, 1670, pp. 45–78.

[2] Ib., p. 81.

BOOK X.

BOOK X.

1670.

NOTWITHSTANDING all the exertions made by Mr. de Courcelles to maintain peace among the nations of Canada, it was not easy for it to subsist long among so many different tribes, whom the least discontent arms against each other, and who are restrained by a superior power, only in so far as they have something to fear or hope at its hands. Unfortunately for the governor-general, France did not continue to send him the reinforcements which had been promised, and he maintained his influence over the Indians only by the ascendency which he was wise enough to assume over them after de Tracy's expedition against the Mohawks. He could not, in fine, prevent the Senecas, the most remote of all the Iroquois from the French settlements, from yielding to the inclination which led them to make war.

War among the Indians. Course of de Courcelles.

When least expected they attacked the Pottawatomies; Mr. de Courcelles was soon informed of it. He told them that he took it quite ill, that notwithstanding his orders, and in violation of their promise to him, attested by oath, they had attacked a peaceful tribe, relying on the faith of treaties; that he would not permit a peace to be troubled, which they were to respect as his work; that he desired them to give up to him the prisoners whom they had taken from his allies, and should they refuse to send them to him sound and in good condition, he would go and wrest them out of their hands, and treat their canton as he had done that of Mohawk.[1]

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[1] Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1671, p. 3.

1670. So fierce a summons provoked the Senecas: they asked whether all the nations of this great continent became French subjects as soon as missionaries fixed themselves among them, and whether they were no longer at liberty to demand satisfaction for insults received? That the Iroquois cantons had made peace with Onontio; but that withal they did not pretend to have become his vassals; that they would rather perish than diminish in the slightest degree their liberty and independence, and that it might be remembered that they had more than once made the French feel that they were not allies to be treated with hauteur or enemies to be despised.

All this was, nevertheless, said in private, and before serious reflection was made on the consequences of a rupture for which men were not prepared. The Senecas held a council to deliberate carefully on the course to be adopted, and the result was, that eight of the thirty-five prisoners taken from the Potawattomies should be sent to Mr. de Courcelles. The general believed, or perhaps pretended to believe, that they had no more, and did not think it advisable to drive to extremity people whom he was still compelled to humor.[1]

1671. Baptism of the great Cayuga chief.

These captives were brought in by the great chief of the Cayugas,[2] who, on fulfilling his commission, declared that he had been induced to undertake it by his desire of receiving baptism at the hands of the bishop, and in presence of his Father Onontio. This chief was the same one of whom we have already spoken more than once.[3] He was after Garakonthié the most illustrious Iroquois in the five cantons.[4] Baptism was administered to him with all possible solemnity. Mr. Talon who had recently arrived, acted as godfather, and named him Louis, after which he gave, in the neophyte's name, a great banquet to all the Christian Indians at Quebec, Lorette, and Syllery.[1]

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[1] Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1671, p. 3. The prisoners numbered 25 or 30. Ib.

[2] Saonchiogoüa. Rel., 1671, p. 3.

[3] Ante, p. 71.

[4] His name is not that of a sachem. See Morgan's League of the Iroquois.

The Iroquois Christians think of leaving their country

It was also about the same time that most of the Mohawks who had embraced Christianity, foreseeing that they would never enjoy in their own country full liberty to live according to the maxims of their religion, formed a project of going to live with the Hurons of Lorette. Among their number was a woman distinguished by the rank of *Oyender*, which gave her great influence in her canton, together with the right of attending the most secret councils. Her relatives molested her in her devotions, and she at last declared that she was determined to go down to Quebec to end her days with the Christians. Nothing was omitted to dissuade her, and after many useless efforts, she was degraded in full council. Far from being moved by this affront, she showed only greater ardor to obtain that liberty to live as a Christian, which she despaired of finding in her own country, and she proceeded to Lorette, where she adhered to the end in the generous course which she had adopted.[2]

Singular conversion of an Iroquois squaw.

The conversion of another woman of the same canton, was attended with circumstances sufficiently remarkable to entitle it to a place in a history, which purposes to omit nothing remarkable that can edify my readers, and undeceive those among whom it has most inappositely been published that the Indians had turned a deaf ear to the preachers of the gospel. This woman while travelling fell among a party of Mohegans, from whom she received two or three tomahawk blows on the head. She at once felt inspired to have recourse to the God of the Christians, and she conjured him not to permit her to die unbaptized.

Scarcely had she ended her prayer, when she no longer beheld any enemies, nor could she ever say what became of

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[1] Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1671, p. 4.

[2] Relation de la N. F., 1671, p. 6. Mary Magdalen Skaouendes.

1671. them, although she did not lose consciousness for a moment. She even rallied strength and courage enough to drag herself to her town, related her adventure to Father Pearon, and added that she would be very glad to retire to Lorette, because she durst not promise herself great fidelity if she remained among her kindred. The missionary took ample time to try and instruct her; he found her docile and firm in her resolution. In a short time she recovered perfect health, then gained over her husband, and induced him to accompany her to Lorette, where they were both baptized, with their little daughter.[1]

Mission of Sault St. Louis begins.

Mr. de Courcelles, who had been carefully informed of all this, was charmed to see the Iroquois neophytes moving to settle among the French. He saw that as their number increased, they might form a town, which would in time, serve as a barrier against the cantons themselves, if war broke out again. He accordingly received with open arms all who presented themselves, and took great care that they should want nothing.

They were at first in very small numbers, but a short time after, Father Boniface having brought in several families from the Mohawk canton, he deemed it best to separate them from the Hurons, and place them opposite Montreal, on the south side at a spot called Prairie de la Magdeleine.[2] In my Journal I have explained how this town was transferred to Sault St. Louis, and how it has always continued to bear the name of that rapid, although now located two leagues higher up.[3]

Talon's measures to secure all north of Canada to France.

On the other hand a number of tribes of the Algonquin language, who felt their indebtedness to the French for the peace which they enjoyed, became more closely attached to them than they had hitherto done, and Mr. Talon availed himself of this favorable disposition to establish the right of the crown in the most remote quarters of Canada. He had conceived the design during his first term of office, and before leaving France for his second, he wrote to Mr. de Courcelles, and explained to him the advantage of sending to the nations of the north and west a man known to them, in order to induce them to meet by deputy at a convenient place, where he might treat with them according to the king's intentions.[1] 1671.

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[1] Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1671, p. 5.

[2] This place was so called from the name of the first grantee, de la Ferté, the Abbé de la Magdeleine, one of the Company of a Hundred Associates. See Creuxius, Historia Canadensis, Relation, 1647, p. 77.

[3] Charlevoix, Journal, pp. 175, 176.

There was no one better fitted for this important charge than a voyageur named Nicholas Perrot.[2] He was a man of ability, of quite a good family, and of some education. Necessity had obliged him to take service among the Jesuits, and this had led to his intercourse with most of the tribes in Canada, and to his acquiring their languages.

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[1] Claude de Bouteroüe was a native of Paris, and is described by Mother Juchereau, Hist. de l'Hotel Dieu, pp. 196, 207, as a man of fine figure, intellectual countenance, polished and graceful manners, yet able to inspire respect. In 1654 he was admitted counsellor in the Cour des Monnaies. He was an antiquarian, and in 1666 published *Recherches Curieuses des Monnoyes de France, avec des Observations, des Preuves et des Figures des Monnoyes.* He came to Canada as Intendant in 1666. His daughter, Mary Dorothy, accompanied him, and lived generally at the Hotel Dieu. She was one of the sponsors of Garakonthié. Mr. de Bouteroüe returned to France in 1671, and died in 1680. L'Abeille, vii., No. 24.

[2] Nicholas Perrot, the voyageur, must not be confounded with Mary Perrot, governor of Montreal. Nicholas Perrot was born in 1644. He began his studies with the Jesuits, but soon after entered their service in the Western missions. He was one of the earliest explorers (De la Potherie, ii., 89), and acquired great influence with the Indian tribes, especially the Foxes, who called him Metamenens (Little Maize). He brought down a flotilla in 1670. In 1671 he was at Sault St. Mary. In 1684 he raised an Ottawa force to join de la Barre. At a later date he built a fort in the Sioux country above the mouth of the Wisconsin (Charlevoix, Journal, p. 398). In 1687 he led down a Western force to join Denonville, but during his absence lost all by the burning of his establishment at Green Bay. In 1690 he assisted in the formal taking possession of the Sioux country. He discovered a lead mine which long bore his name, was commandant in the Miami country in 1692, was nearly burnt at the stake by the Ottawas. After all his labors he returned a ruined man to Montreal, and died subsequent to 1718: Tailhan's Perrot, p. 319; Historical Magazine, ix., p. 205.

1671. He had gained their esteem, and had gradually so wormed himself into their confidence, that he easily persuaded them to any course at pleasure. Mr. de Courcelles cast his eyes on Perrot for the negotiation in question; Mr. Talon, who had meanwhile landed at Quebec, approved the choice, and dispatched Perrot with wise instructions.[1]

This deputy visited all the northern nations, with whom we had any intercourse,[2] and invited them to meet in the following spring at Sault St. Mary, where the great Onontthio of the French, that is the king of France, would send one of his captains to impart to them his will. All having promised to send deputies there, he proceeded to the western quarters; but he turned south, and went to Chicagou, at the lower end of Lake Michigan, where the Miamis then were.[3] As he approached their village with an escort of Pouteouatamis, given to him as he passed (Green) Bay, inasmuch as war was enkindling between the Sioux and the Mascoutins, a troop of young men from his escort left him to announce his arrival to the Great Chief of the Miamis, named Tetinchoua.

The Great Chief of the Miamis.

This chief could put on foot four or five thousand combatants, and never marched except with a guard of forty soldiers, who patrolled night and day around his tent, while he was there. Perrot, from whose memoirs I draw these details, adds that Tetinchoua rarely communicated with his subjects, contenting himself with imparting his orders through one of his officers. I do not guarantee these facts; but it is certain that if Perrot did not somewhat exaggerate the truth, things have changed greatly since then; yet it is true, as I have myself witnessed, that the chiefs of the Miamis are more respected and less accessible than those of most of the other Indian tribes of Canada.[1]

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[1] Perrot was selected merely as interpreter and guide to the Sieur de St. Lusson: Perrot, Mœurs et Coustumes, p. 126. The Relation, 1671, p. 26, accordingly alludes only to St. Lusson.

[2] St. Lusson wintered among the Amikoués, and near the Sault Indians, who were on Manitouline Island. Perrot sent messengers to the northern nations, and set out in a canoe from that island to Green Bay: Perrot, Mœurs et Coustumes, p. 126.

[3] Perrot went no further than Green Bay, which he calls the bay of the Foxes and Miamis: Ib., p. 126. The Miamis were not then at Chicago. See Father Tailhan's note, Ib., p. 290; Relation, 1671, pp. 42, 45, 47; 1673, p. 188; Relations Inédites, i., p. 126; ii., p. 122; Relation, 1673–9, pp. 104, 127; Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi, pp. 257–264; De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale, ii., p. 125; Historical Magazine, v., pp. 99–104.

His reception of the Governor's envoy.

Be that as it may, Tetinchoua, says Perrot, informed of the coming of an envoy of the general of the French, wished to give him a reception that would attest his own power.

He sent out a detachment to meet him, giving it orders to receive him in military style. The detachment advanced in battle order, all the braves adorned with feathers, armed at all points, uttering war cries from time to time. The Pouteouatamis who escorted Perrot, seeing them come in this guise, prepared to receive them in the same manner, and Perrot put himself at their head. When the two troops were in face of each other, they stopped, as if to take breath, then all at once, Perrot's took the right, the Miamis the left, all running in Indian file, as though they wished to gain an advantage to charge.

But the Miamis, wheeling in the form of an arc, the Pouteouatamis were invested on all sides. Then both uttered loud yells, which were the signal for a kind of combat. The Miamis fired a volley from their guns, which were loaded only with powder, and the Pouteouatamis returned it in the same way; after this they closed, tomahawk in hand, all the blows being received on the tomahawks. Peace was then made; the Miamis presented the calumet to Perrot, and led him with all his escort into the chief town, where the Great Chief assigned him a guard of fifty men, regaled him splendidly after the custom of the country, and gave him the diversion of a game of ball.[2]

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[1] For the Miami chief and the respect shown him, see Relation, 1671, pp. 45–7.

[2] This whole account of the reception is from de la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale, ii.,

1671.

Possession taken of all the country on the Lakes.

Perrot after spending some days among the Miamis, and treating with their chief, returned to Sault St. Mary in pursuance of his instructions.[1] Tetinchoua wished to accompany him in person; but his advanced age and infirmities induced his subjects to fear that he would be unable to stand the fatigue of the journey, and persuaded him to remain at home. He did not even depute any one of his nation to the General Assembly; but he gave the Pouteouatimis full power to act in his name.[2] Time apparently did not permit Perrot to go and invite the Mascoutins and Kikapous to be present at the rendezvous, still less the Illinois, who then resided on the banks of the Mississippi, and among whom the French had not yet penetrated. It is certain that no Indian appeared from these three nations, nor any one to represent them.

Deputies were present, however, from all the northern tribes, and even from the Monsonis, dwelling at the head of Hudson's Bay.[3] The Sieur de St. Lusson, subdelegate of the Intendant of New France, repaired to Sault St. Mary in the month of May, 1671,[4] appointed by special commission to take possession of all the country occupied by these tribes, and put them under the king's protection. The ceremony began with an address in Algonquin by Father Allouez, in which after giving all these Indians an exalted idea of the king's power, he endeavored to persuade them that nothing could redound more to their advantage, than to merit the protection of such a monarch, which they

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pp. 125, 126. Perrot in his work gives nothing of the kind.

[1] He reached the Sault, May 5, with the principal chiefs of the Pottawatomies, Sacs, Winnebagoes, Menomonees. The chiefs of the Foxes, Mascoutins, and Miamis did not cross the bay.

[2] The Pottawatomies induced the Miami chief not to go, and he empowered them to represent him: Perrot, pp. 127–8.

[3] Perrot, Mœurs et Coustumes, p. 128.

[4] Francis Daumont, Sieur de St. Lusson, was sent west by Talon as soon as he landed. He left Montreal in October, 1670 (Perrot, p. 126), wintered on Lake Huron (Relation, 1671, p. 26), among the Amikoués: Perrot, p. 126. He reached Sault St. Mary in May, and took possession June 4: Ib., M. Mary of the Incarnation; Choix de Lettres, p. 374.

would obtain, he added, by acknowledging him as their head chief.[1] 1671.

Mr. de St. Lusson then spoke briefly, closing his remarks by asking whether all consented to what had just been proposed? As he had spoken in French, Father Allouez repeated in Algonquin what he had just said, and all at first replied by presents, and then by loud cries of "*Long live the king.*" Then the Commissary made Perrot dig two holes in the ground, and plant in one a great cedar post, and in the other a cross of the same material, the French meanwhile singing the *Vexilla.* The arms of France were then set up on the post and cross, and the *Exaudiat* intoned. This done, Mr. de St. Lusson declared by the mouth of Father Allouez that he put the whole country in the king's hand, and all the inhabitants under his majesty's protection.[2]

The delegates all cried out that they would have no other Father than the great Onontbio of the French, and the subdelegate, after showing them great attention, assured them that that prince would never allow them to want any thing as long as they maintained the fidelity they had just promised him. The whole concluded with the *Te Deum*, preceded and followed by several volleys of musketry, to which there is no doubt they added according to custom a great banquet.[3]

St. Lusson, immediately before repairing to Sault St. Mary, had by Mr. Talon's orders made a tour to the south-

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[1] The act of taking possession was June 4, 1671. Perrot gives it erroneously as 1669, p. 127. See the Procès Verbal and Tailhan's discussion: Ib., pp. 292–5.

[2] Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1671, p. 26. The setting up the arms preceded all the addresses.

[3] Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1671, p. 28; Talon to Colbert, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 72. De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., ii., p. 129, says that a Procès Verbal was drawn up and signed by all the nations. But these signatures do not appear in the copy given by Tailhan in his edition of Perrot, p. 292. The arms were pulled down almost immediately after the departure of the French: De la Potherie, ii., p. 130. Talon carried the Procès Verbal to France: N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 72.

1671.

The English settle on the lands of the French, and although they lived harmoniously, the king of England is induced to recall them.

ern coast of Canada, and had found the banks of the Kennebec and the whole sea-coast studded with English houses, well built and in very good condition. He was well received everywhere; the two courts of England and France, were then closely united, and since the treaty of Breda, these two nations had had no ground of contention in America. The Sieur de Saint Lusson did not fail to notify these settlers that they were on the territory of the king of France; but they replied that they were delighted to live under the sway of so great a king, and they begged him to assure the governor-general and intendant of New France, that they would always behave as most faithful and submissive subjects.[1]

It is nevertheless probable that they were soon after recalled to New England, and the letter of Mr. Talon to Mr. Colbert, from which I have drawn these details of the voyage of the Sieur de St. Lusson, hints that the intendant had some doubts of the sincerity of the English, and gives reason to think that this recall was made in consequence of remonstrances of the king's council. At least it is certain that from that time the Kennebec was regarded as forming on that side the separation of the two colonies, as it had been established by the treaty of Breda.[2]

The Hurons at Michillimakinac.

In fine, this same year the Tiononntatez Hurons, weary of leading a wandering life, never to the taste of this nation, settled at Michillimakinac. They did not locate themselves on the island itself, which bears that name, and has given it to a part of the neighboring mainland; but on a point of that mainland, which advances southward and faces another point turned northward.[3] These two points form a strait, by which Lake Huron communicates with Lake Michigan. It was Father Marquette who brought the Hurons to this post and established them there.

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[1] Talon to Colbert, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 72.

[2] This report of Colbert is not in the N. Y. or Canada Documents. The treaty of Breda does not mention the Kennebec. It says generally "the country of Acadia," and even the peremptory order to Temple to deliver up the posts to the French begins with "Pentagoët." Memoires des Commissaires, ii., pp. 35, 36, 317.

[3] Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1672, pp. 35–6, would seem to infer that they settled on the island, but the map places the mission of St.

Singular phenomena. Observations on Tides and Currents.

It is not easy to know for what reason that missionary chose it in preference to so many others, which seem far more advantageous for such a settlement. He speaks of it himself in his memoirs, as a very inconvenient place, where the cold is intense,[1] arising doubtless from the fact that the three lakes between which it lies—the smallest of which (Lake Michigan) is three hundred leagues in circuit, without counting a bay,[2] twenty-eight leagues in length, which empties into it—are ordinarily agitated by very violent winds.

Father Marquette adds that the inequality of the tides greatly deranges the navigation of these lakes. In fact I have already noted that there is nothing regular about them, and that they are quite strong in some parts. In the neighborhood of the little island of Michillimakinac they rise and fall once every twenty-four hours, at full and new moon, and always run towards Lake Michigan. Nor is it doubtful, that there is, independent of these tides, a current always setting from Lake Huron into Lake Michigan, which is caused apparently by springs, such as are quite frequently found in the open sea.[3]

Yet this current does not prevent the natural current from Lake Michigan, which, as well as Lake Superior, discharges its waters into Lake Huron. The former of these two currents, that is to say, that from Lake Huron into Lake Michigan, is more sensible, when the wind blows

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Ignatius on the northern point; and there is nothing in Marquette's own account of his mission (Relation de la N. F., 1672–3, p. 146) that alludes to the island. La Hontan (i., pp. 114–6, and the map) describes it as on the shore north of the strait. Le Clercq (Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 148) says expressly that it was north of the strait. Perrot in his Mœurs et Coustumes, p. 102, is not definite.

[1] He discusses its advantages—fisheries, hunting, access—and its disadvantages. Relation, 1672–3, p. 37.

[2] Baye des Puants, or Grande Baye, now Green Bay.

[3] Charlevoix, Journal, p. 301.

1671. from the opposite direction, that is to say, the south, and at such times cakes of ice have been carried from the former lake into the latter with as much velocity as a vessel would have with wind astern. The same thing, it is known, is seen in the Bahama Channel.

Father Marquette also observes that in the strait by which Lake Superior empties into Lake Huron, there are under the surface of the water numerous currents, so strong as at times to carry off the nets of the fishermen, whence he conjectures that this great lake discharges part of its waters into Lake Michigan by subterranean channels, excavated in the same manner as those by which the Caspian is supposed to connect with the Black Sea, and the latter with the Mediterranean; and this is all the more probable, as Lake Superior receiving at least forty rivers, ten or twelve of them quite as large as the strait itself, would not discharge near as much water as it receives, if there were no other issue than this channel.

The same is apparently to be said of Michigan, which, besides the waters of the great bay, receives also a great number of rivers, some of them quite large, and coming from a considerable distance. For besides its visible discharge into Lake Huron, it must necessarily have excavated other subterranean ones as has been remarked of Lake Superior, as to which a discovery has been made corroborating the conjecture of Father Marquette. This is that all the rocks found at a certain depth in the channel at Sault St. Mary are pierced like sponges, and several of them hollowed out into grottos, apparently the work of the currents I have mentioned.[1]

Singular phenomena.

At the close of the preceding year and commencement of this, quite a singular thing occurred in this part of Canada. The winter did not begin till the middle of January, 1671, and ended in the middle of March. This was unexampled, and both periods were marked by phe nomena which surprised the Indians greatly. On the 21st of January, about two hours before sunset, there appeared in the bay two parhelia, accompanied by a crescent, the horns pointing upward. The real sun was equally distant from the two; a little cloud with all the colors of the rainbow covered and slightly obscured one, and a bright light in a manner veiled the other. The Indians took it for an infallible sign of cold, and it froze excessively the next day.[1] 1671.

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[1] See Marquette's remarks on these tides: Rel. de la N. F., 1671, p. 38.

On the 12th of March ensuing three parhelia were seen in three different places, differing also in regard to their position, number, and time of appearance.[2] At Michillimakinac the apparent distance of the three suns perceived there was half a league; one of the two parhelia was scarcely more than an iris of oval form, crowned by a fillet of gold: the other was so bright, that it would not have been easy to distinguish it from the true sun, but for a band of scarlet which bordered it on the side farthest from the sun. This phenomenon lasted several days; it was seen in the morning soon after sunrise, and in the evening before sunset. The Relation, which states the fact, adds that the parhelion seen south in the morning was north in the evening, the other taking its place; but it apparently changed its figure rather than its position.[3]

In Manitouline Island, where a number of Sault Indians were wintering, three suns appeared in the west on a line parallel with the horizon; they were all of equal size; the true sun west-southwest; one of the two parhelions in the west, the other in the southwest. At the same time two hemicycles were seen parallel to the horizon. They were blue in the centre, of the color of the aurora above, and a dull ashy gray in the circumference. The sky was a little overcast on that side, and, indeed, it was not very serene in any part, although no cloud was discernible.[4]

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[1] Relation de la N. F., 1671, p. 40.

[2] March 16.

[3] Relation de la N. F., 1671, p. 40.

[4] Ibid.

1671. A quarter of a circle perpendicular to the horizon having nearly the same colors as the parhelia, touched that which was on the southwest; then cutting one of the two hemicycles parallel to the horizon was gradually lost in the other. Sometimes the three suns disappeared; but the real sun was invisible less frequently than the others. Finally a third parhelion was seen above the sun; but it did not last long. The two former, as they disappeared for the last time, left two very luminous rainbows, and the two hemicycles also remained a long time after.

At Sault St. Mary three suns were seen one morning, as in the other two places; but a little after noon, eight appeared all at once ranged in this order. The real sun was in the centre of a circle formed of the colors of the rainbow: four parhelia divided this circle into four equal parts, and were placed on perpendicular and horizontal lines. Another circle resembling the first in color, but much larger, passed through the centre of the real sun, which was at the top, and three other parhelia, with the real sun divided this circle, as the four former did the smaller circle. The Indians imagined that all these parhelia were the wives of the real sun, who chose to show himself to men with all his spouses; but they were undeceived by a natural explanation of these phenomena. This gave occasion to explain to them that this luminary was any thing but a genius as they imagined.[1]

1672. Project of a fort at Cataracouy.

Towards the end of this year the Iroquois victoriously closed the war which they had for several years been waging with the Andastes and the Shawnees[2] their neighbors.

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[1] Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1671, p. 41.

[2] See Vol. II., pp. 209, 36. Charlevoix here follows Perrot, p. 129. The Andastes sympathizing with the Hurons, were gradually drawn into the war. They fought bravely, but were finally overthrown in 1675: Etat Présent, 1675; Relation de la N. F., 1676, p. 2; Relations Inédites, i., p. 44; Colden's Five Nations (London edit.), i., p. 126; N. Y. Col. Doc., iii., p. 323. They were then incorporated into the League. A part retreating southward were massacred by the Maryland and Virginia troops. The last remnant of the tribe were butchered by the Paxton

The success on either side had long been about equal; but at last these two nations were almost entirely exterminated, and the victors incorporated into their cantons, especially that of Seneca,[1] a great number of captives taken from both tribes. This has always been their policy, to repair at the expense of their enemies the ravages caused in their nation by war.

Then Mr. de Courcelles, convinced more than ever of the necessity of opposing a barrier to a restless people, which had no longer any thing to occupy it abroad, and whose power and renown were daily increasing, sent word to the principal chiefs of the cantons, that he had an important affair to communicate to them, and that he would forthwith proceed to Cataracouy to await them. They came to the spot in great numbers, and the general after lavishing great marks of friendship, and very fine presents, told them that he designed building a fort at that point, where they might come to trade more conveniently with the French.

Mr. de Courcelles returns to France; his successor builds Fort Cataracouy.

They did not at first perceive that under pretext of seeking their advantage, the governor had in view solely to hold them in check, and secure a depository for his provisions and military stores, in case they forced him to take up arms again. They accordingly replied that this project seemed to them well devised, and measures were at once taken for its execution.[2] Mr. de Courcelles, however, had

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Boys in 1763: Historical Magazine, ii., pp. 294–7; Parkman's Pontiac, pp. 414, 417; Jesuits in North America, xlvi. See Alsop's Maryland.

The Shawnees are the only tribe I have met, whose name was the same among all tribes, Choctaw, Huron, Iroquois, or Algonquin (Chaouanonronon). The history of their roving bands is very vague and obscure. D. G. Brinton, Hist. Magazine, x., p. 1, has done most to trace their history. The History of the Shawnees, by Harvey, Cincinnati, 1855, is useless as to their early history.

[1] Perrot, Mœurs et Coustumes, p. 129.

[2] Perrot, Mœurs et Coust., p. 129. This voyage is simply the one already mentioned, ante, p. 124. But Dollier de Casson in his account of the voyage, does not mention the invitation to the chiefs, nor the address to them: N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 75.

1672. not time to effect it. He had, as we have seen, solicited his recall to France, and on arriving at Quebec, found there the Count de Frontenac, who had come to relieve him. He without difficulty induced him to favor the design which had led him to undertake his last excursion, and early in the following spring, the new general repaired to Cataracouy, and built a fort, which as well as the lake, at the entrance of which it stands,[1] long bore his name.[2]

Mr. Talon demands his recall to France, and why.

Mr. Talon on his side did not slumber, his active and vigilant zeal did not allow him to remain a single day idle, and his superior genius gave birth only to great projects; but the dissatisfaction which he constantly received from Mr. de Courcelles, and those which he foresaw from the Count de Frontenac, whose character he was not slow in reading, made him once more think of retiring. He deemed it imprudent to commit himself with that general in a colony, too small to give separate employment to two men, who were not of a disposition to depend on one another, nor consequently to act in all things with that harmony, which requires occasional relaxation and yielding.[3]

Character of Mr. de Courcelles.

All things fairly considered, the departure of Mr. de Courcelles was a real loss for New France. If he did not possess as eminent qualities as his successor, he had but the least of his faults, and his passions were much less violent. He aimed sincerely at good; his prejudices against the ecclesiastics and the missionaries never prevented his showing them confidence, on occasions in which he deemed them necessary or useful, or his supporting them in all the functions of their ministry. In fine, his experience, his firmness, and the wisdom with which he governed, had endeared him to the French and won the respect of the Indians. To all appearance, the peace of Canada would never have been disturbed, had those who succeeded him entered into his views and followed the path he had traced out.[1]

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[1] Lake Ontario. *Charlevoix.* Ontara in Iroquois means Lake, Ontario, Beautiful Lake. See Cuoq, Etudes Philologiques, p. 17.

[2] Perrot, Mœurs et Coustumes, p. 129; Journal of Count de Frontenac's Voyage to Lake Ontario in 1673; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 95; Canada Doc., II., ii., p. 323.

[3] John Talon had been intendant at Quesnoi in Flanders, was created Baron des Islets in 1671, and Count d'Orsainville in 1675. After returning to France he became captain of the Castle of Marimont and secretary of the king's cabinet. He was alive in 1680. In Canada he was a great benefactor of the Hotel Dieu at Quebec. Mother Juchereau mentions their possession of his likeness (p. 217), and the portrait engraved in this work is from a copy of it made by Mr. Th. Hamel of Quebec. She praises greatly his piety and charity to the poor, pp. 225–6. He was the Colbert of Canada.

Character of the Count de Frontenac, his successor.

Louis de Buade, count de Frontenac, his successor, was a lieutenant-general in the king's armies, and grandson of a knight of the Orders, who had distinguished himself during the wars of the League, by his attachment to his lawful sovereign, and had merited the confidence of the great Henry.[2] Frontenac had a heart greater even than his birth: a mind active, penetrating, firm, full of resource, and highly cultivated; but he was susceptible of the most unjust prejudice, and capable of carrying it to great lengths.

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[1] There is, unfortunately, little known as to this governor's personal history. Mother Juchereau says he was popular and affable, gaining the hearts of all, and hence always punctually and cheerfully obeyed: Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu, p. 518. After his return to France, he sent to the Hotel Dieu a silver lamp for the chapel: Ib.

[2] Louis de Buade, count de Frontenac et de Paluau, was of a family that had served the royal family faithfully. His grandfather was son of a governor of St. Germain, premier maître d'Hotel du Roi, and knight of the Orders in 1619. His father married a daughter of Raymond Phelippeaux. At the age of seventeen, Louis de Buade entered the military career as maître-de-camp in the regiment of Normandy, and after holding that post eleven years, became maréchal-de-camp. He served in Italy, Flanders, and Germany, and in 1669 was in the force sent to the relief of Candia. On its surrender he was appointed governor of Canada. While governor-general for the second time, he died at Quebec in November, 1698, in his 78th year. His funeral sermon, by the Recollect Father Oliver, is still extant.

His wife, a daughter of Lagrange Trianon, was one of the famous beauties of the day (St. Simon, Memoires, iv., p. 101; ib., ix., p. 264), and lady of honor to M'lle de Montpensier, daughter of Gaston, duke of Orleans: Memoires de M'lle de Montpensier, Amsterdam, 1735, iii., p. 7; ib., iv. p. 8. She seems to have entertained a strong dislike to her husband: Ib., iii., p. 7. She survived him many years, and died in 1707, in a fine apartment at the arsenal given her by the Duke de Lude, gay and worldly to the last.

1672. He wished to rule alone, and there was nothing that he left undone to remove those whom he feared to find in his way. His valor and ability were equal; no one could better assume over the nations whom he governed or with whom he had to treat, that ascendency so necessary to retain them in duty and respect. When he chose, he gained the friendship of the French and their allies, and no general ever treated his enemies with greater hauteur and nobleness. His views for the aggrandizement of the colony were great and just, and it was not his fault if eyes were not opened to the advantage which France might derive from it; but his prejudices sometimes prevented the execution of the projects which depended on him. It is not easy to reconcile the regularity and even piety which he professed, with that acerbity and vindictiveness which he displayed against those he took umbrage at or did not like; and on one of the most important occasions of his life he gave ground to suppose that his ambition and the desire of preserving his authority had more power over him than zeal for the public good. The reason is, that there is no virtue but forgets itself, when a dominant passion is allowed to have sway. Count de Frontenac might have been a great prince, had heaven placed him on a throne; but he had faults dangerous in a subject who is not convinced that his glory consists in sacrificing every thing for the sake of his sovereign and the public good.[1]

Discovery of the Mississippi. Meanwhile Mr. Talon employed the short time he had still to spend in the colony in a manner well fitted to make him regretted. After having established the right of his royal master to the very extremity of the north, and far into the west, he undertook to make new discoveries. It was known in general by the reports of the Indians that there was in the west of New France, a great river, called Mechasippi by some, and Micissippi by others, which flowed neither north nor east;[2] hence no doubt was enter-

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[1] Compare de la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iv., p. 110.

[2] For the earliest indications of the Mississippi, see Relation, 1660,

1672.

tained, that by its means, communication might be opened either with the Gulf of Mexico if it ran south, or with the Pacific, if it flowed west to empty there; and whichever course it took, great benefits were expected.

The intendant did not wish to leave America, without throwing light on this important point; he confided this exploration to Father Marquette, who had already traversed almost all the countries of Canada, and who was highly esteemed by the Indians. Joliet, a citizen of Quebec, a man of ability and experience, was associated with him.[1] They set out together from the Bay of Lake Michigan, embarked on Fox River,[2] which empties into it, and

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p. 12; 1662, p. 3; 1664, ch. 1; 1667, p. 23; 1670, pp. 80, 91, 100; 1671, p. 24; Shea, Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley, xxii.–v. The name is given as Messipi, Messisipi, and finally, Missisipi. Mechasippi does not occur, nor the form given by Hennepin, and adopted by Chateaubriand, Meschacebe. It is compounded of two simple words, Missi, great, and sipi, river.

[1] Talon recommended Jolliet, who was appointed by the Chevalier de Grandfontaine: Frontenac's Dispatch, November 2, 1672, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 93, 121; Dablon in Discovery of the Mississippi, p. 4, Relations Inédites, i., pp. 193–4; De la Porte, ii., p. 130; Canada Doc., II., ii., p. 140. Louis Jolliet was born at Quebec, September 21, 1645, son of John Jolliet and Mary d'Abancour. He was educated at the Jesuit college, and in 1662 received minor orders. He remained an ecclesiastic till 1667, when he apparently abandoned all ideas of the priesthood, and went to the West. Talon, Dablon, and indeed all speak highly of him. In 1675 he married Clara Frances Bissot. In 1680, he obtained a grant of Anticosti as a reward for his western discovery. He was royal hydrographer. He died in May, 1700. Some of his descendants still possess the seigneury of Jolliet: Ferland, Notes sur les Registres de Quebec, pp. 50–57. Father James Marquette was merely the associate of Jolliet, not the government agent as here stated. He was born at Laon in 1637, became a Jesuit in 1654, came to America in September, 1666, and after studying Algonquin at Three Rivers, was sent to the West in April, 1668. He established the mission at Mackinac in 1671, and had apparently solicited an appointment on the expedition: Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi, xli., etc. On his return he began a mission at Old Kaskaskia, on the Illinois River, and having returned to it in 1674, fell ill at Chicago, wintered there, in the spring proceeded to Kaskaskia, but sinking rapidly, died, May 18, 1675, while endeavoring to reach Michilimackinac. His comrades buried him by the lake shore, at the mouth of a river that thenceforth took his name.

[2] The river of the Foxes. The proper name of these Indians is Outagamis: *Charlevoix*. They set out

1672. ascended nearly to its source, notwithstanding the rapids, which render the navigation excessively difficult.[1] They then left it, marched some time,[2] then re-embarked on the Ouisconsing, and sailing always westward, found themselves on the Micissipi at about forty-two and a half degrees north latitude. It was on the seventeenth of June, in the year 1673, that they entered that famous river, which in width and still more in depth seemed to them to correspond with the idea which the Indians had given them of it.[3]

They allowed the current, which is not very rapid at that part, to bear them on, and they had not proceeded far when they discovered the Illinois. They found three towns of that nation three leagues below the place where the Missouri, styled Pekitanoni in his Relation, blends its waters with those of the Mississippi.[4] These Indians

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from St. Ignatius, at Michilimackinac, May 17, 1673: Discovery of the Mississippi, p. 7.

[1] The voyage of Jolliet and Marquette has been treated as unreal by those who wrote in the interest of La Salle; but there is no fact better authenticated. Frontenac's Dispatch, November 14, 1674, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 121; and Hennepin, Description de la Louisiane, p. 13, published at Paris in 1683, admit it clearly. Father Anastasius, Le Clercq, ii., p. 364; Father Membré, ib., p. 259. Marquette's Journal was not published at once, the Jesuit Relations having been stopped at the instance of de Courcelle, according to d'Alet (Faillon, Histoire, iii. p. 312). It was published from a poor copy, by Thevenot in his Recueil de Voyages, in 1681 (Charlevoix, nte, I., p. 83, has 1687 erroneously). This was reprinted by Rich, at London in 1845. A Dutch version, with curious map and plates, appeared at Leyden in 1707. Marquette's account, a contemporaneous copy, with his last letter, and his map in his own hand, were preserved at Quebec, and published with a translation by me, in the Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley, in 1852; they were also printed privately by James Lenox, Esq., in 1855, and at Paris, in the Relations Inédites, in 1861. Jolliet's map, with a letter to Frontenac in 1674, was preserved in the French archives. For the navigation of Fox River, see Discovery of the Mississippi, p. 12.

[2] 2,700 paces: Ib., pp. 15, 238.

[3] Discovery of the Mississippi, pp. 16, 238; Recit des Voyages et Découvertes, p. 27; Relations Inédites, ii., p. 254; Voyage et Découverte de Quelques Pays et Nations de l'Amérique Septentrionale, p. 10.

[4] These villages were on the west shore near the Desmoines River: Discovery of the Mississippi, p. 20. Marquette's map names two of the villages Peouarea and Moingwena. The map in Thevenot also places

1672. were the more charmed to see Frenchmen among them, inasmuch as they had long desired their alliance, for the reason, that the Iroquois began to make incursions into their country,[1] and that they feared a war which they were not in a position to sustain alone. They accordingly gave Father Marquette and Sieur Joliet every possible welcome, and induced them to promise their good offices with the governor-general.[2]

The two travellers, after resting for a time among the Illinois, pursued their course and descended the river as far as the Akanses, about the thirty-third degree of latitude.[3] Then, as provisions and ammunition began to fail them, and considering that it was not prudent to advance too far with only three or four men into a country, whose inhabitants they did not know, and as they could no longer doubt that the Micissipi emptied into the Gulf of Mexico, they resumed their route for Canada,[4] ascended the river as far as the river of the Illinois, which they entered.[5] On arriving at Chicagou on Lake Michigan, they separated.[6] Father Marquette remained among the Miamis, and Joliet went to Quebec to give an account of his voyage to Mr. Talon, whom he found to have already sailed for France.[7]

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them on the west above the Missouri. Father Marquette expressly states that they reached Pekitanoni later: Disc. of the Mississippi, p. 38. The form Pekitanoni is given in a mutilated passage in Thevenot's Voyages et Découvertes, p. 28.

[1] The manuscript published by me contains the beautiful address of the Illinois chief, reproduced by Longfellow in his Hiawatha: Disc. of the Mississippi, pp. 20–37.

[2] The war began as early as 1656, and by 1667 the Illinois had been driven west of the Mississippi: Tailhan's Perrot, p. 224.

[3] Discovery of the Mississippi, pp. 38–50; Thevenot's Voyages et Découvertes, pp. 28–42.

[4] They left Akansea (called Akamsca in Thevenot, p. 40), July 17: Disc. of the Mississippi, p. 50.

[5] Discovery of the Mississippi, p. 50; Thevenot, Voyages et Découvertes, p. 42. On this river he found the Kaskaskias, misprinted Kuilka in Thevenot.

[6] Marquette does not mention Chicagou, but says that they both proceeded to Green Bay, whence they had started in June.

[7] Jolliet could not expect to find Talon, as he had sailed before Jolliet's appointment. As to his return, see Frontenac's Dispatch, Nov., 1674, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 121. De la Potherie, in his brief allusion to Jolliet's voyage (vol. ii. pp. 130–1),

1672–3. The missionary was very well received by the Great Chief of the Miamis. He took up his abode in the chief town of these Indians, and spent the last years of his life in announcing Jesus Christ to them.[1] The preceding year Fathers Allouez and Dablon had with great toil traversed all the country south of the great bay, without reaping much fruit of their labors. While ascending Fox River they perceived on the edge of one of those rapids, which are, as we have remarked, very frequent on this river, a kind of idol quite rudely made, and seeming rather one of those caprices of nature, where men think they can trace some resemblance to works of art. It was a rock, the summit of which seemed at a distance a man's head. This the Indians had taken as the tutelary god of their country. They frequently daubed it with all sorts of colors, and never passed near without offering it tobacco, arrows, or the like. The missionaries, to convince the heathen of the impotence of their pretended deity, threw

Description of the country of the Foxes and Mascoutins.

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falls into an absurd error, making him return by the St. Joseph, "where Mr. de la Sale had begun an establishment."

[1] Charlevoix here, and in his Journal, pp. 313–4, followed apparently some vague tradition. He does not seem to have consulted the archives of his order at Quebec, Paris, or Rome. The manuscripts first published in my Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley, give Marquette's life fully. Jolliet left him at Green Bay, where he was soon prostrated with disease. Having promised the Kaskaskias to return and begin a mission among them on the head waters of the Illinois, he wrote to Quebec for permission, and October 25, 1674, he set out, crossing the peninsula to Lake Michigan. His health failed, and on reaching Chicago, December 4, he had to stop and winter there. In the spring, recovering slightly, he advanced and reached the Kaskaskias, April 8. After laying the foundation of a mission he endeavored to reach Mackinac by way of St. Joseph's River and the eastern shore of Lake Michigan; but death came rapidly on, and he was taken ashore by his two boatmen, near the river that bears his name, and there died, May 18, 1675. Two years later some Ottawas took up his bones and conveyed them to Mackinac: Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley, pp. lxvi.–lxxiii., 53–66; Relations Inédites, ii., p. 290; Marquette's last letter, ib., p. 257; Relations Inédites, ii., p. 317; Récit des Voyages du Père Marquette, pp. 90–169; Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1673–9, pp. 99–120. See as to Marquette, also, Spark's Life, Library American Biography, Series I., vol. x.

the rock into the water, and there was nothing ever said of it after.[1] 1672–3.

When these rapids are passed, you enter a fine river, which calmly rolls its waters through a charming country. The climate is very mild, the forests are diversified with agreeable prairies, and wild animals of all kinds are found there in thousands, and especially those Illinois oxen that bear wool.[2] Several small rivers empty into Fox River and are covered with wild rice,[3] which during the autumn attracts a prodigious quantity of game. The vines with which the woods are studded produced without cultivation quite large bunches; plums, apples, and other fruit, although wild, are not disagreeable to the taste, and would be excellent were they cultivated.

Striking southward you enter the country of the Mascoutins, set down on some of our maps under the name of Terre de Feu, *Land of Fire*. The Mascoutins are also called by some geographers the Fire Nation. An error based on an equivocal term gave rise to this denomination. Mascoutenec, which is the true name of this country and of the people who inhabit it, signifies an open country, and in fact, forests are more rare there than in all the rest of Canada. The Pouteouatamis say Mascoutins, and it is from them that we have taken the name. Now it is averred that some Frenchmen having heard Indians who called fire by a term closely resembling that of Mascoutenec, imagined it to be the name of the tribe, and called it the

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[1] This incident long preceded Marquette's voyage. See Relation de la N. F., 1671, p. 44. For a sketch of Allouez, see Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi, p. 67, note. A second similar idol was thrown down in 1672: Relation de la N. F., 1672–3, p. 202.

[2] The bison is called by Allouez (Relation de la N. F., 1671, p. 44) and by Marquette (Récit des Voyages, p. 30; Disc. of the Miss., p. 18), pisikiou, and Baraga in his dictionary gives pijiki as the Otchipwe term. It is first described in Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1663, p. 19. None of the previous Jesuit missionaries had described it, so that it was apparently not seen then in the Seneca country, or on the great lakes.

[3] Zizania aquatica: Marquette, Discov. and Exploration of the Mississippi, p. 9.

1672-3. Fire Nation.[1] How many proper names have originally no better foundation! The Kicapous are neighbors of the Mascoutins, and the two tribes have always apparently been united in interest.[2]

Reception of the two Missionaries by the Mascoutins.

Among the Mascoutins Fathers Allouez and Dablon met Tetinchoua with three thousand Miamis[3] and they learned that fear of the Iroquois and of the Sioux had united all these Indians together. They were received with great marks of friendship, and announced Jesus Christ. But all the fruit of their preaching was that these savages, unable to conceive that men who spoke so well were merely ordinary mortals, applied to them as genii, to obtain the cure of the sick and other favors, which they usually ask of their gods.

They were invited one day to a feast, the preparation for which led them to suppose a war-feast. It was prepared in a very vast cabin, where a kind of trophy had been erected, loaded with bows, arrows, and a kind of battle-axe made of very hard stone. Eatables, consisting however only of Indian meal, had been added with tobacco, and the instruments used to rouse themselves to action, that is to say, the chichicoué and drum. As soon as the missionaries had taken their places, a great platter of Indian corn boiled in buffalo grease, was brought to them, and the master of the banquet, on presenting this dish to them, paid them a long compliment, the substance of which was that they had a cruel war to sustain against the Sioux; that they were on the point of sending against that nation a party of their young men, and that they begged them to grant them victory over their foes.

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[1] The Mascoutins were styled by the Hurons, Assista,eronon, which certainly means Fire Nation. The question is whether the Huron interpreters were deceived, and never discovered their error. The name is given by Sagard, Histoire du Canada, p. 201, Champlain edition,1632, map: Relation, 1632, p. 14; 1640, pp. 35, 98; 1641, p. 59, etc. Dablon first in Relation, 1671, p. 45, treats this as an error, and says: that Maskoutench signifies a land cleared of trees, but as the word by the change of a few letters will mean fire, the error arose. Baraga in his Otchipwe Dictionary gives Fire, ishkote: Prairie, mashkodé. For an essay on the tribe, see History and Condition of the Indian Tribes, iv., p. 244.

[2] The Mascoutins were probably at last confounded with the Kikapoos.

[3] The Miamis and Mascoutins together made up 3,000: Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1671, p. 45. Father Dablon does not name Tetinchoua.

The Fathers replied that they were only ministers and servants of Him, on whom alone victory depended, and to whom they must address their vows; that He was the Creator and God of Heaven and Earth, that he was everywhere, that he had always been, and that he would never cease to be, that his power had no bounds, and that his goodness equalled his power.[1] These words gave great pleasure to all present, and Father Dablon, in his letter describing the details of his voyage, regrets deeply his inability to make a longer stay among these people; but he was recalled to Quebec, and Father Allouez proceeded to the Foxes (Outagamis).

Excursion of Father Allouez among the Foxes.

He did not expect a good reception, as some of these Indians had been ill-treated by Frenchmen at Montreal,[2] and the whole tribe had vowed vengeance. The Foxes were estimated at nearly one thousand families. The Miamis and Mascoutins resorted to every expedient to dissuade the missionary from delivering himself alone to the fury of a provoked tribe, which, moreover, had never appeared well disposed to hearken to the tidings of Christianity; but nothing could induce him to change his design, and God blessed his courage. He preached Jesus Christ to the Foxes, who admired his resolution and his patience and gradually adopted humane ideas towards him. He baptized the dying, and especially the children; many even on his departure begged him to return to see them, and assured him that if he would take up his abode with them, he would find a cabin and a chapel already erected.[3]

Father Marquette, on his part, labored quite usefully

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[1] Relation de la N. F., 1671, p. 46.

[2] Ib., pp. 49–50.

[3] Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1671, p. 50.

1672–3. among the Miamis of Chicagou. He remained there till 1675, when he left it to proceed to Michillimakinac; but he died on the way, as I have related in my journal.[1] Father Allouez went soon after to take his place among the Miamis,[2] quite a considerable number of whom he had the consolation of converting. This tribe, who are supposed to have the same origin as the Illinois, is of quite a gentle disposition, and had not their missionaries been traversed by the very men who should have upheld them in their apostolic labors, there is every appearance that this whole tribe would now be Christian.

Death of Father Marquette.

Acadian affairs.

The court always seemed to be very earnest about the settlement of Acadia; but it was ill supported by the individuals whom it had interested in this enterprise, and who would not understand that by faithfully administering the king's affairs they would labor usefully for themselves; they did not even take the precaution to build a single fort there, believing themselves sufficiently sheltered by that of Pentagoët, where the Chevalier de Grand Fontaine[3] resided, and by that of Saint John's River, where Mr. de Marson[4] commanded in the name of that governor.

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[1] See this poetical but incorrect account in Charlevoix's Journal, pp. 313–4. For the real facts, see ante, p. 182, note 1. Father Marquette founded the Illinois mission at Kaskaskia, not a Miami mission: Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley, p. 53; Rel., 1673–9.

[2] Allouez, on the death of Marquette, proceeded to the Kaskaskias, in October, 1676, and remained connected with it till 1679: Disc. and Expl. of the Mississippi, pp. 66–77; Relation de la N. F., 1673–9, pp. 121–134. He retired on the approach of La Salle, who was greatly opposed to him, but returned again in 1684, and was there apparently in 1687 and '89. He died in the West, apparently about Aug., 1690. He belonged to the province of Toulouse, and came to America, July 11, 1658.

[3] Hubert d'Andigny de Grandfontaine, plenipotentiary at Boston in 1676.

[4] Pierre de Joybert, Seigneur de Soulanges et de Marson, in Champagne, sub-lieutenant of a company of infantry in the regiment of Poitou (Daniel, Une Page de Notre Histoire, p. 263), was commissioned August 14, 1670, to take possession of Port Royal and Fort St. John: N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 379; Canada Documents, I., iv., p. 28. He received possession, August 27, 1670. See Charlevoix's Journal, p. 362, for an anecdote as to him: Canada Documents, II., ii., p. 220. He died, according to

Mr. Talon, on asking of the king to be finally relieved, had promised Mr. Colbert to take Acadia on the way, and to visit that province. He received a favorable reply, and the minister, on sending him the royal permission to return to France, intimated to him, in his letter of June 4th, 1672, that he would confer a favor on him, by starting as late as possible, and leaving every thing in New France in good order; to which he added that the king strongly approved his design of coming home by way of Acadia. Besides the reasons which had induced the intendant to propose this voyage, a still more important one had arisen.[1]

Sir (Thomas) Temple had declared to Mr. Colbert that he wished to retire to the French territory. Mr. Talon had orders to treat with him, and to assure him that his most Christian majesty granted him letters of naturalization, and would bestow still greater favors. Acadia, it was expected, would derive great advantages from this negotiation; but it led to nothing, nor can I discover what defeated it.[2] The next year Mr. de Chambly succeeded the Chevalier de Grand Fontaine at Pentagoët,[3] and he had been at that fort at the most a year, when, on the 10th of August, 1674, an Englishman, who had been for

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Mr. Daniel, before 1691, as his widow, Mary Francis Chartier de Lotbiniere, in that year obtained an extension of his Acadian grants. Their daughter, Louise Elizabeth, in 1690, married the Marquis de Vaudreuil, and was summoned to France to direct the education of the princes of the blood. The Joyberts were seigneurs d'Aulnay, Soulanges, etc., in Champagne, and were, perhaps, connected with the early d'Aulnay.

[1] Colbert to Talon, June 4, 1672. The part relating to Temple is omitted in N. Y. Col. Documents, ix., p. 89.

[2] Sir Thomas Temple, after being compelled to yield up to France the country from the River Muscongus, in Maine, to Cape Breton, went to England to obtain the indemnity of £16,200 promised him, and died there in 1674, devising his interest to his nephew, Wm. Nelson: N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 75; Hutchinson's Massachusetts, i., 236; Haliburton's Nova Scotia, i., pp. 64-65; Williamson's Maine, i., p. 428.

[3] Ordre du roi portant commission au Sieur de Chambly, May 5, 1673: Canada Doc., III., i., p. 42. Yet Grandfontaine seems to have been there later: Canada Documents, II., ii., p. 139.

1673–4. four days in the place in disguise, attacked it with the crew of a Flemish pirate.[1]

The English seize Pentagoët and the fort on St. John's River.

This adventurer had one hundred and ten men, and Mr. de Chambly had only thirty; moreover, Pentagoët was not in a state of defence, and the governor was surprised, because the two crowns were at peace. He nevertheless defended himself with great courage, but after an hour's fight, he received a musket-ball through the body, which forced him to retire. Then his ensign and all his people, who were badly armed and more badly minded surrendered at discretion.[2]

The enemy immediately sent a detachment to Fort Gemesie on St. John's River to carry off Mr. de Marson who commanded there. This was effected without resistance. Thus the whole of Acadia, of which these two forts constituted the whole defence, was left exposed to the incursions of the English. The author of this act of hostility had no commission and was disavowed. It was ascertained, however, that he had received an English pilot at Boston, and they were informed that the Boston people would only with great impatience permit the French to remain possessed of Pentagoët and Fort St. John.[3]

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[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 119, 793; Canada Documents, II., ii., p. 94. The Englishman here referred to is evidently John Rhoade, and the Dutch vessel, "The Flying Horse," a frigate from Curaçoa, Capt. Jurriaen Aernouts, acting under a commission of the Prince of Orange. The Dutch considered this a conquest, and on the 27th October, 1676, the West India Company appointed Cornelius Steenwyck governor of Nova Scotia and Acadia; having previously granted Rhoade ample trading powers: De Peyster, Dutch at the North Pole and in Maine, pp. 72–6. Hutchinson (Hist. Massachusetts, i., p. 280; Collections, p. 464) and Williamson (History of Maine, i., p. 580) seem to make two captures of Penobscot in 1674 and 1676; but there was apparently but one. See, also, N. Y. Col. Doc., iv., 476. The treaty of Nimeguen in 1677 would confirm the Dutch title, but the claim seems to have been abandoned. Though Hutchinson (i., p. 280) says that New England vessels drove off the Dutch.

[2] Frontenac's Dispatch, November 14, 1674: Canada Doc., II., ii., p. 94; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 119.

[3] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 120, 793; Canada Doc., II., ii., p. 228. Marson surrendered, August 7, 1674.

On the 30th of April, 1672, after a long, painful, and complicated illness, died Mother Mary of the Incarnation, first superior of the Ursuline

1673–4.

Frontenac's violence.

Had New France been tranquil, these losses might have been readily repaired, and new precautions adopted to prevent the provinces bordering on New England from being left exposed to similar insults; but every thing in the colony was in confusion. The governor-general had fallen out with the ecclesiastics and missionaries, and was soon on ill terms with Mr. du Chesneau, Talon's successor. The Abbé de Salignac Fenelon who belonged to the seminary of St. Sulpice, was put in prison on the pretext

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Convent of Quebec, revered as the St. Teresa of her time. Mary Guyard, better known under her religious name of Mary of the Incarnation, was born at Tours, October 18, 1599, her father, Florence Guyard, being a silk mercer of good family, and her mother of the noble family of Babou de la Bourdaisiere. Although feeling a decided vocation for the religious state, she yielded to her father's wishes, and at the age of seventeen married a Mr. Martin, a silk manufacturer. Left a widow two years after, she continued engaged in the direction of a factory till her son attained the age of twelve, and then entered the Ursulines, January 25, 1631. She came to Canada in 1639, and her whole subsequent career was devoted to the good of the colony. She became a good Huron and Algonquin scholar, and wrote in both languages. Her letters form a valuable body of contemporary information. Her life was written by her son, Dom Claude Martin, Paris, 1677, by Father Charlevoix, and recently by the Abbé Casgrain, Quebec, 1864. As to her, see, also, Relations de la Nouvelle France, 1672, p. 70, etc.; Les Ursulines de Quebec (Quebec, 1863), Ante, vol. I., p. 82; II., p. 101.

On the 18th of June, 1673, Montreal lost Mademoiselle Mance, who had taken so active a part in its foundation, and especially in the establishment of the Hotel Dieu or Hospital. See Faillon, Vie de M'lle Mance, 2 vols., 8vo., 18 : Histoire de la Colonie Française, iii., p. 425.

Here we take leave of the Jesuit Relations published annually from 1632 to 1673. The publication is asserted by Mr. Faillon on the credit of some Memoirs of d'Alet, published by Arnauld, to have been stopped at the instigation of de Courcelle (Histoire de la Colonie Française, iii., p. 312). But when we see the tone of Frontenac's dispatches, and the last chapter in the first volume of le Clercq's Etablissement de la Foi, a work published under Frontenac's eye, devoted to turn the Jesuits and their forty years' labor into ridicule, it is far more probable that the suppression, if a government work, came from Frontenac and not from de Courcelle. For a general view of the Relations, see O'Callaghan, Jesuit Relations, N. Y. Hist. Society Proceedings, 1845–6, Appendix; also, in French by Rev. F. Martin, Montreal, 1850. The Relation for 1673 and 1673–9, with some intermediate and subsequent ones, remained in manuscript, and have been printed partly by me and partly at Paris. All these Mr. Faillon ignores (vol. iii., p. 312).

1673–4. that he had preached against the Count de Frontenac and that he had elicited attestations from the inhabitants of Montreal in favor of Mr. Perrot, their governor, whom Frontenac had put under arrest.[1]

Complaint was also made that Mr. de Frontenac had made up the council-general of men devoted to him, and thus rendered himself the sovereign arbiter of justice, and kept the whole colony under the yoke;[2] that only sergeants were to be seen in the field;[3] and that for the last six or seven months there had been more litigation in New France than had been seen for the last sixty years. In a word, that the country was in extreme confusion, and that if this lasted much longer they might well fear for the colony.[4]

Yet, it must be avowed that all the vigorous blows then struck by the Count de Frontenac were not reprehensible in fact; but, even when he most reasonably employed severity, he did so with such a violent air and such overbearing manners, that he greatly diminished the offence of the guilty by rendering the chastisement odious. This often threw him and even the court sometimes into very great embarrassments. He had especially allowed himself to be biassed against the missionaries[1] and it was not his fault that his ill-humor did not deprive the colony of one of its strongest barriers.

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[1] Hennepin, in his Nouvelle Découverte, 1697, p. 14, says that this Abbé de Fénélon was the great Archbishop of Cambray. This error was developed by Greenhow, in a paper read before the New York Historical Society (Proceedings N. Y. Hist. Soc., 1844). The life of the Canadian missionary has been clearly and well drawn by the Abbé Verreau in a series of articles in the Canadian Journal de l'Education, and by Mr. Faillon in his Histoire de la Colonie Française. Pons de Salignac, marquis de la Mothe Fénelon, married, February 20, 1629, Isabelle d'Esparsis de Lussan, daughter of Marshal d'Aubeterre, and had eleven children, among them Francis, the Canadian missionary, who was born in 1641, entered the Seminary of St. Sulpice in October, 1665, and having received minor orders, came to Canada, June 27, 1667. He was ordained priest, June 11, 1668. The same year as we have seen he began a mission at Quinté Bay. He also founded an establishment at Gentilly for Indian children, to aid which Frontenac in 1673, granted him three small islands. In 1674 he preached the Easter sermon at Montreal, and La Salle reported some passages to Frontenac as painting him as a tyrant. The governor went to work with a high hand, Fénelon claimed all his rights, but was sent back to France and died in 1679. See Faillon, Histoire de la Colonie Française, iii., pp. 171, 480. Francis de Salignac Fénelon, archbishop of Cambray, was son of Pons de Salignac by his second wife, Louise de la Cropte, and was born, August 6, 1651, and was consequently but seventeen when his brother went to Quinté.

[2] Memoire de Mr. d'Urfé à Colbert, cited by Faillon, iii., p. 536. The king accordingly, May 10, 1675, appointed seven councillors. See Edits et Ordonnances, i., pp. 83–4; ii., pp. 42–3; Canada Doc., ii., 68.

[3] Mr. Faillon devotes a chapter to the misconduct of the officers at Montreal.

[4] Ante, p. 66.

De Courcelles and Talon had deemed it necessary, in order to keep the Iroquois cantons in check, to draw as many as possible of these Indians to La Prairie de la Magdelaine, where, as we have seen, several had already settled.[2] This task had been assigned to Father Fremin, who had discharged it successfully; but it was soon perceived that the soil at La Prairie was not suited to the raising of the crops that the Indians usually plant;[3] and as scarcity began to be felt, the new town was menaced with general desertion.[4]

To avoid this catastrophe the missionaries asked the governor and intendant for another site opposite Sault St. Louis. Count de Frontenac returned no answer to their petition; but Mr. du Chesneau,[5] who considered the removal of the Indians inevitable if their request was refused,

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[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 93, 94, 120.

[2] Ante, p. 164. The great movement from the Mohawk was made by Kryn the great Mohawk, a chief of Caughnawaga: Relations, 1672–3, p. 53. For Catharine Ganneaktena, the foundress of the colony, see Relations Inédites, ii., p. 284; Relation, 1673–9, p. 163; Chauchetière, Vie de la bonne Catherine, MS., St. Valier, Etat Présent, p. 47.

[3] Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1673–9, p. 231; Relations Inédites, ii., p. 66.

[4] Details as to the origin of this mission at La Prairie are given in the Relation de la N. F., 1672–3, pp. 27, 53, 79; 1673–9, pp. 141–3, 229–257; Relations Inédites, ii., pp. 49–70; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 116; Canada Doc., II., ii., p. 61; St. Valier, Etat Présent, pp. 47–66; Viger, Souveniers Historiques sur la seigneurie de la Prairie; Shea, Catholic Missions, pp. 297–308.

[5] James Duchesneau was made Intendant, June 5, 1675. See Commission in Edits et Ordonnances, iii., p. 42.

1673–4. granted it, and they took possession.[1] It had, of course, been foreseen that the general would not approve this way of action; but they could never imagine that he would carry his anger as far as he did; on this occasion he indeed so far forgot himself that even his best friends could not justify him.[2]

The Dutch annoy the Iroquois missionaries.

The Iroquois Christians, nevertheless, remained at Sault St. Louis, and the court, deeming the establishment necessary, maintained them there in spite of the Count de Frontenac.[3] What especially impelled these neophytes to forsake their own land, and seek an asylum in the French colony, was a threat on the part of the Dutch (who had recovered Manhattan in 1673, and reconquered all New York, which they did not long retain), to drive the missionaries from the Mohawk canton, if they did not retire of themselves. They acted thus, because they feared every thing from the Iroquois, if that nation should become united to the French by the bond of religion.[4]

There is every appearance that from this time some intrigue was formed among these Indians to renew the war against us; for the next year, 1674,[5] Mr. de Frontenac informed Mr. Colbert, that if the principal chiefs of the nation had not been gained by his flatteries and presents, not a single Frenchman would have been left in Canada.[6] This was going too far; but it is certain that the Dutch underhandedly stimulated the Iroquois to take up arms,[7]

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[1] Relations Inédites, ii., p. 66.

[2] N. Y. Colonial Documents, ix., p. 130.

[3] The concession was confirmed by letters patent of the king, May 29, 1680.

[4] Charlevoix seems to have overlooked the manuscript Relations, which must have been accessible to to him at Quebec and at Paris. These assign no such cause. The debauchery prevalent in the cantons, increased by the free use of liquor, and especially the persecution of the pagans, made it imperative on them to remove.

[5] The Relations ascribe the hostile tone of the Iroquois to their recent overthrow of the Gandastogués: Relations Inédites, ii., pp. 44, 99.

[6] Frontenac (N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 117, 793) speaks of Dutch intrigues: Canada Documents, II., ii., p. 73.

[7] N. Y. Colonial Documents, ix., p. 793.

1673–4. and the governor-general profited by the information he received to convince the court of the necessity of maintaining his fort at Cataracouy. He did not anticipate that the court would also conclude, as it did, that it was no less important to maintain the establishment of the Iroquois Christians at Sault St. Louis.

1675. Pretension of Mr. de Frontenac to the functions of President of the Superior Council.

Mr. du Chesneau had not less to put up with from the general's arrogance than the ecclesiastics and missionaries. Their disagreement began in regard to the Superior Council, of which Count de Frontenac wished to usurp all the authority, even so far as to assume the title and functions of President. To put an end to this dispute, which enkindled the flames of discord in all parts of the colony, as each officer had his partisans, the king, on the 5th of June, 1675, issued an ordinance regulating every thing so as to give reason to hope that all vain pretensions would cease on both sides. His majesty therein confirmed what had been already decided, namely, that the governor-general should have the first place in the council, the bishop the second, and the intendant the third; but that the last should ask the opinions of the members, take the votes, and pronounce the decisions.

Count de Frontenac did not, however, yield, and under various pretexts subjected to very ill treatment all who in this, or in any thing else, opposed his will. He even ventured of his own authority to exile the attorney-general and two councillors; he came to an open rupture with the intendant,[1] and did not hesitate to say that he was very sorry that he had not put him in prison immediately on the departure of the vessels; as he would have had the pleasure of keeping him two whole years in confinement, that time being required to obtain an order from court for his discharge. Conduct so unjustifiable could not long be concealed from the king; but apparently they

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[1] As to the rupture between Frontenac and the Intendant du Chesneau, see Canada Documents, II., ii., pp. 243–290.

1675. at first dissembled to his majesty some of the extravagances of this general, who had powerful protectors at court and influential alliances. This may be inferred from two letters written in that prince's name, and dated April 29, 1679. In one addressed to Mr. du Chesneau, the king explained to that intendant, that he would have avoided all the violence of which he complained, had he contented himself with exposing his reasons to Mr. de Frontenac, and had he obeyed him, giving him notice that he would lay the whole matter before the court.

Letters of the king to the intendant and governor-general.

In the other, which was for the Count de Frontenac, his majesty, after reproaching him that by his pretensions he disturbed the tranquillity of New France, added: "You wish in the registers of the Sovereign Council to be styled chief and president of that council, which is entirely contrary to my ordinance concerning that body. I am the more surprised at this pretension, as I am well assured that you are the only one in my kingdom, who, being honored with the title of governor and lieutenant-general in a country, desired to be styled chief and president of a council like that in Canada. I accordingly desire you to abandon that pretension, and rest contented with the title of governor and lieutenant-general for me. No more do I wish that the title of president of the council be given to the intendant; but that he shall have all the functions; that is to say, that you have no authority to keep the registers of the council in your hands, as you have assumed to do, and required; still less to take up the votes, and pronounce the decisions; all these functions belong to the office of president, which I have attached to that of intendant."

In the same letter the king renews his orders on the subject of the vagabonds, usually called *Coureurs de Bois*, and declares to the general that he will take no excuse on the point, under the conviction that it depended on the governor solely to arrest the course of such a disorder, which was ruining and depopulating the country and annihilating commerce. Another point of still greater importance was a new subject of discord between the governor-general and the bishop. We have seen the disorders caused among the Christian Indians by the liquor trade; it had within a few years revived,[1] and was producing the same effects that had already cost so many tears to all who took an interest in the salvation of those tribes.

The liquor trade in Canada revived.

The bishop, the clergy, and the missionaries complained of it; but others had found the secret of persuading the king's council that this trade was absolutely necessary to bind the natives of the country to us; that the abuses of which the ecclesiastics made such loud complaints, were, if not altogether imaginary, at least greatly exaggerated, and that their zeal on this score served for little more than a pretext to persecute those who prevented them from domineering in the country and to induce their recall.

The court prepossessed in favor of this trade.

So far indeed did this prepossession go, that Mr. du Chesneau, having written to Mr. Colbert in very strong language in support of the opinion of the bishop, who had made the liquor trade a reserved case, that minister replied, that in this matter he did not act as an intendant should, and that he ought to know that before prohibiting the settlers from conducting a traffic of that description, it was necessary to be well assured of the reality of the crimes which they pretended that it produced; but the penetration of Colbert did not leave him long in error on this point, and the king's piety did not permit him to remain in indecision on a subject which so many persons, whose virtue and intelligence his majesty could not but esteem, unceasingly continued to bring to the foot of his throne as the most detrimental thing to religion in New France.

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[1] Talon on leaving Canada had repealed the acts prohibiting the liquor trade: Faillon, Histoire de la Colonie Française, iii., p. 439. The council followed by a general permission, November 10, 1668, August 4, 1674, and Frontenac by ordinance, February 12, 1674.

1676–8. Royal edict on the subject. There was accordingly, in 1678, a decree of the council, dated May 12th, directing that an assembly should be held of twenty of the principal inhabitants of New France, to have their opinion on the trade in question. This done, and the reasons adduced on both sides, the king requested the Archbishop of Paris and Father de la Chaise, confessor to his majesty, to give a definitive judgment. After conferring with the Bishop of Quebec, who had gone to France, both were of opinion that the liquor trade should be forbidden in the Indian villages under the severest penalties. A royal ordinance supporting this decision was transmitted to Frontenac, who was expressly enjoined to enforce it; the bishop having on his side pledged his word to reduce the reserved case to the terms in which the ordinance was expressed.[1]

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[1] Arrets et Ordonnances, i., p. 235. The Relations, 1672–3, 1673–9, give some facts worth noticing here. The peace made between the Mohawks and Mohegans in 1672–3 enabled the former to lay in supplies of liquor, and, in consequence, a pestilence broke out. This, and the persecution of the heathen party, induced the large emigration from Caughnawaga and Gannagaro, the two towns nearest Albany: Relation, 1672–3. Among those gained to Christianity in this tribe were Kryn, the great Mohawk, and Assendasé, a man of 65, sachem of the tribe, who died in August, 1675 (Relation, 1673–9, p. 147).

The death of Daniel Garakonthié, the great Onondaga chief, who died in 1675, was, however, a severe blow. During the mission of St. Mary's of Ganentaa he is not mentioned; but he was evidently then friendly, and constantly afterwards showed himself the friend of the French, of civilization and progress. Though of advanced age, he began to learn to read and write, and not without success. His manly avowal of the tenets of the faith which he had embraced won the esteem and encouragement of the Dutch. He labored for peace, and, as we have seen on several occasions, saved French prisoners from the stake, and endeavored to turn the warlike spirit of his nation to distant fields. See as to him, Relation, 1672–3, p. 71; 1673–9, pp. 185–192; Relations Inédites. Charlevoix, as we shall see hereafter, in ignorance of his death, confounds him with his brother, who assumed his name.

In the West the Sioux had driven the Ottawas, Chippewas, and their allies into Lake Huron, and Druillettes, Nouvel, and others labored among the fugitives: Rel., 1672–3. At last, however, peace was proposed and the Sioux deputies came to Sault St. Mary. There a Cree stabbed one, and a fight ensued in which all the Sioux were killed and many Algonquins, the mission-house

1676–8.

Arrival of the Sieur de la Sale in Canada. His character.

Meanwhile the departure of Mr. Talon and the death of Father Marquette had caused the Micissipi to be lost sight of, and no measures were taken to complete the discovery. At last Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Sale, who had emigrated to America some years before, and who had gone there only to undertake some enterprise likely to give him wealth and honor, saw that nothing was better adapted to enable him to gain his ends than to enter into the views of Mr. Talon as to the discovery of this great river, and the country watered by it.

He was born at Rouen of a family in easy circumstances ; but having spent some years among the Jesuits,[1] he had no share in the property of his parents. He had a cultivated mind, ambition for distinction, and felt that he had the genius and courage requisite for success. In fact he lacked neither resolution to undertake nor constancy to follow up a project, neither firmness to withstand obstacles, nor resources to repair his losses ; but he could not win love nor manage those whom he needed, and as soon as he possessed authority he exercised it with severity and hauteur. With such defects he could not be successful, nor was he.

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and chapel burnt : Relation, 1673–9, p. 4.

The missionaries at Green Bay extended their labors to the Menomonees, Fox, Mascoutins, Winnebagoes, and Miamis, and, after Marquette's discovery, to the Illinois : Relation, 1672–3, p. 157 ; 1673–9, pp. 79–134.

[1] Robert Cavelier de la Salle was born at Rouen in 1643. The statement here made of his having been a Jesuit is on the authority of Hennepin in Nouvelle Découverte, Avis au Lecteur, p. 107, which states that he had been among the Jesuits ten or eleven years, and taught in one of their colleges. He professes to have seen the document of the general releasing him from his vows ; but Father Felix Martin, on examining the catalogues of the French provinces of the time in order to obtain the date of his birth, entrance into the order, as well as the year when his name ceased to be given, failed to find any trace whatever of him. It is, therefore, most probable that Hennepin was mistaken. The assertion is, however, repeated by Mr. Faillon, Histoire de la Colonie Française, iii., p. 228, who seems to adduce family papers to sustain it. Yet as he is said to have been only a novice, it is not easy to see how he could have been treated as *civiliter mortuus*, and deprived of his inheritance.

1676–8.

He undertakes to complete the discovery of the Micissipi.

The first project which he formed, and which induced him to cross the ocean,[1] was to seek a passage to Japan and China, by the north or west of Canada; and although in general destitute of every thing necessary for such an enterprise, and during his first years, much straitened in a country to which he had brought nothing, and where there was no resource against poverty, he was not discouraged; he made friends and protectors, and devoted himself with incredible application to acquire the information, and to procure the other aids necessary for his enterprise.

He was thus engaged when Joliet arrived at Montreal with the tidings of his discovery.[2] When he had conversed with that explorer[1] he no longer doubted that the Micissipi emptied into the Gulf of Mexico; but he also flattered himself that by ascending that river to the north, he would be able to discover the object of his researches, and that at all events the mere discovery of its mouth would lead to something that would establish his fortune and his reputation. He had very cleverly succeeded in winning the good graces of Count de Frontenac, whose inclinations he had carefully studied: he exposed his designs to that governor, who promised to aid him with all his power.

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[1] La Salle's brother, John Cavelier, was a priest of the congregation of Saint Sulpice, and he was thus apparently led to come to Montreal as he states in a memoir to Frontenac in 1666. His name appears as witness to a marriage, November 1, 1667 (Faillon, iii., p. 228). The Sulpitians received him favorably, and the Abbé de Queylus gave him a grant of the seigneury of la Chine, which he styled St. Sulpice. But he sold all his rights to this grant early in 1669, after having had difficulties with the Jesuits who owned on the other side of the river at the rapids, of which a bundle of papers is still preserved. Furnished with letters of de Courcelles to the governors of Virginia and Florida, he set out with Dollier de Casson (Ante, p. 122) to find a way to China, but after going as far as the Seneca country, where he met Joliet, he left it in September, 1669, and returned to St. Sulpice, which then got in mockery the name of China—Lachine. In the spring of 1670, Perrot met him hunting on the Ottawa (Mœurs et Coustumes, p. 120). In spite of this authentic statement, Mr. Margry (Journal de l'Instruction Publique, August 20, 1862. Dussieux, Le Canada, p. 37) pretends that, in 1669, la Salle penetrated through the Seneca country to the Ohio, and descended that river and the Mississippi to the falls. Now that it was before he started with Dollier de Casson, is utterly inconsistent with that clergyman's narration. That he did it between his return to Lachine and the spring of 1670, when he was quietly hunting on the Ottawa, is equally improbable. That he did reach the Ohio and descend it as far as the falls at Louisville, 37° N., as he states in a memoir to Frontenac in 1677, is probable (Cartes du Sieur Jolliet), but the date is evidently wrong. Indeed, from Margry's third article, la Salle could seem to assign it elsewhere to 1671, which is more probable. See Tailhan's Perrot, pp. 279–289. That he went down beyond the falls or reached the Mississippi there is no evidence. The theory set up by Margry is doubted by Tailhan, by Ferland (Cours d'Histoire, ii., p. 78), and by Canadian scholars generally. See note, p 122, ante.

[2] Jolliet reached Green Bay in

He returns to France. What he obtains from the king.

The first things to which he had to turn his attention were to obtain funds for the expense of the expedition, to invest himself with a character to authorize it, and to obtain forces capable of holding the Indians in respect. La Sale had made all these reflections at his leisure, and his plan was all clear in his own mind. He knew how much Count de Frontenac was wrapt up in Fort Catarocouy. He accordingly proposed to increase the fortifications, garrisoning it with a force sufficient to defend it against any attack which the Indians might make should they renew war, to plant settlers there, in order to draw thence in case of need both provisions and men, and to build vessels there to navigate Lake Ontario.

Nothing was better conceived, considering only the advantage of the colony, and Frontenac was of opinion that La Sale should go to France to explain his design to the

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September, 1673, and apparently descended at once to Montreal, which he seems not to have reached till about August, 1674: Frontenac's Dispatch, November 14, 1674; Shea's Discov. and Exp. of the Mississippi, xxxiii.; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 121.

[1] La Salle was sent early in 1673 to Onondaga to invite the cantons to send deputies to meet Frontenac at Quinté (N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 97). After the fort was erected in July, 1673, he was made commandant: Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 117. La Salle was at Montreal in May, 1674, and sought to ingratiate himself further with Frontenac by denouncing a sermon of Fenelon, one of the Sulpitians: Faillon, iii., 497. He, therefore, in all probability met Jolliet on his return, either at Frontenac or at Montreal.

1676–8. minister. He accordingly embarked on the first ship which sailed from Quebec.[1] On arriving at court, he learned the fact of Colbert's death, and delivered to the Marquis de Seignelay, who succeeded his father in the Navy Department, the letter of Count de Frontenac, of which he was the bearer. He then had several private conversations with him, and that minister, who liked his ability, obtained for him from the king all that he coveted.[2] His majesty issued to him letters of nobility,[3] granted him the seigneury of Catarocouy and the government of the fort, on condition that he should build it of stone,[4] and invested him with all powers necessary to conduct trade freely, and continue the explorations already begun.[5]

The Chevalier de Tonti joins him.

The prince de Conti, to whom he had found access, had strongly supported him with the king, and had greatly contributed to obtain all those favors of which I have just spoken. The only return he exacted was, that he should accept an officer whom that prince honored with his goodwill and esteem. His name was the Chevalier de Tonti, and he had a brother in New France already, who died there a captain.[6] La Sale regarded this request of

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[1] He apparently went in the fall of 1674, although Frontenac's dispatch of November 14 does not allude to him. His petition may be found, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 122.

[2] Charlevoix here confounds the visit made by la Salle in 1675 with that in 1678. Colbert did not die till 1683.

[3] Patent, dated at Complègne, May 13, 1675: N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 125; Shea's Discovery of the Mississippi, p. 265.

[4] Grant of Fort Frontenac: Canada Doc.; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 123.

[5] La Salle returned to Canada, received investiture of Fort Fontenac October 12, 1675, rebuilt it of stone, and made it his chief trading post: Faillon, iii., p. 473; Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 139; Hennepin, Nouvelle Découverte, p. 32, says the work on the fort lasted ten years. In 1677 he again visited France (Hennepin, Description de la Louisiane, p. 14; Le Clercq, p. 138), and obtained, May 12, 1678, a license to discover the western part of New France: N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 127; Canada Doc., I., ii., p. 17.

[6] They were sons of the author of Tontine. (*Charlevoix.*) Margry, Memoirs Inédites, p. 3; Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 139. The father, Lorenzo Tonti, who had been governor of Gaeta retired to

1676–8.

the prince as a new favor, and in fact Tonti was always strongly attached to his interest, and rendered him the greatest services. He had served in Sicily, where he had one hand carried away by a piece of a grenade; this he had replaced by a silver one, which he used very well.

La Sale's various adventures. 1678.

On the 14th of July, 1678, la Sale and Tonti embarked at Rochelle with thirty men, including pilots and mechanics, and they reached Quebec on the 15th of September.[1] Their stay there was short, because they wished to profit by the pleasant season to proceed to Catarocouy, whither they took with them Father Louis Hennepin,[2] a Flemish

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France after the revolution in that country. Henry entered the French army as a cadet, served as such in 1668–9; then four years as midshipman; lost his right hand and taken prisoner at Libisso, near Messina. Left unemployed at the peace, he joined la Salle; and till his death was connected with the Mississippi. Left in command at the Illinois fort in 1680; went down the Mississippi with la Salle; was removed from the command of the fort by de la Barre; went down the Mississippi to the gulf in 1685 to meet de la Salle; led western Indians to join Denonville in 1685. After Cavelier's return, again went down the Mississippi in 1689: Petition in Louisiana Hist Col., i., pp. 79–81; Margry, Relations, pp. 5–36; De la Potherie, ii., p. 144. In 1699 he accompanied the Quebec Seminary missionaries down the Mississippi to Arkansas: Relation de la Mission du Mississippi, p. 14. Was sent for the next year by Sauvole, and went down to meet d'Iberville. He soon after removed to Louisiana, died in September, 1704, at Fort Louis, at Mobile: Relations et Memoirs, p. 4.

[1] Tonty, Memoir in Margry, Relations, p. 5; Louisiana Hist. Col., i., p. 52; Hennepin, Description de la Louisiane, p. 15; and le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 139, are both less precise.

[2] Louis Hennepin was born at Ath, in Hainault, entered the Franciscan order, was an army chaplain, and then came to America in 1676. Was at Fort Frontenac. After his western voyage he returned to Europe, and in 1683–4, printed his Description de la Louisiane. He never returned to America, and disagreeing with his superiors in France, retired to Holland. In 1697 he printed at Utrecht, and in 1699 reprinted his "Nouvelle Description d'un très grand pays situé dans l'Amérique, entre le Nouveau Mexique, et la Mer Glaciale." This was dedicated to William III. He was at the convent of Ara Cœli in Rome in 1701 (Hist. Mag., i., p. 316), but is said to have died at Utrecht. For a review of his volume, see Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi, pp. 99–106. For a list of editions, see Historical Magazine, i., pp. 316, 346, etc.

1678. Recollect, who subsequently accompanied them in most of their journeys. La Sale's first care on arriving at Catarocouy, was to begin his labors on the fort, which was only of palisades; he at the same time built a bark, and these operations were carried through with a celerity which gave a high idea of the activity of the new governor.[1]

He then sailed in his bark as far as Niagara, where he traced a new fort: this he confided to the Chevalier de Tonti, to whom he left thirty men, gave orders for building a second bark at the head of Lake Erie, above Niagara Falls, traversed on foot all the Seneca canton, made during the rest of the winter a number of other excursions, which had no other object than the fur-trade, returned by land to Catarocouy, and sent his bark back again to Niagara, loaded with provisions and merchandise.[2] It then made several successful trips, but the pilot having one day run too close in shore, it was wrecked.[3]

1679. This disaster did not disconcert Mr. de la Sale: he soon repaired this loss, and spent all the spring and summer of the year 1679 in filling his storehouse at Niagara, and visiting the various savage tribes with whom he wished to trade, or from whom he hoped to derive information for his discoveries. The Chevalier de Tonti did the same on his side. At last, about the middle of August, the bark which had been built at the entrance of Lake Erie[4] being

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[1] The fort was already built, and probably the bark. For a plan of the fort as built by la Salle, see Faillon, Histoire de la Colonie, iii., p. 467.

[2] Tonty, Memoir, Louisiana Hist. Col., i., p. 53. They left Fort Frontenac November 18: Le Clercq, Etablissement, ii., p. 141; Hennepin, Description de la Louisiane, p. 20; Nouvelle Découverte, p. 72; Discovery of the Mississippi, p. 89.

[3] Hennepin, Nouvelle Découverte, p. 93; Description de la Louisiane, p. 41; Le Clercq, ii., p, 144; Tonty, Memoir in Margry, p. 6; Discovery of the Mississippi, p. 90.

[4] This vessel, called the Griffin in honor of Count de Frontenac, whose arms had griffins as supporters (De la Potherie, Hist. de l'Amérique, ii., p. 136), was built two leagues above Niagara Falls, at the mouth of a little river: Hennepin, Nouvelle Découverte, pp. 94, 99; Tonty, in Margry, p. 6; Bancroft, Hist. U. S., iii., p. 163, originally supposed this to be Tonnawanda Creek; and Spark, Life of la Salle, Lib. Am. Biog., vol. xi., p. 21, Chippewa Creek in Canada.

1679.

in a state to sail, la Sale embarked with forty men, including three Recollect Fathers,[1] and steered for Michillimakinac. On the passage he experienced a very severe storm,[2] which disgusted a part of his men, several of whom deserted; but the Chevalier de Tonti, who had taken another route, having met them, was fortunate enough to induce them, almost all, to follow him.[3]

He meets with a severe loss.

From Michillimakinac, the Griffin, so his bark was called, sailed to the Bay (Green Bay), from which point de la Sale sent it back to Niagara loaded with furs.[4] For his own part, he proceeded in a canoe to St. Joseph's River,[5] where there was then a Miami town, at which Father Allouez was laboring with considerable success.[6] Here the Chevalier de Tonti proceeded to join him. They did not remain there long.[7] Tonti descended to the Illi-

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O. H. Marshall clearly proved it to be Cayuga Creek in Niagara County, his decision being accepted by historians as well as students generally.

[1] Hennepin, Description de la Louisiane, p. 109, says thirty-two persons, with the two friars who had joined him. The Nouvelle Découverte, p. 120, and Le Clercq, Etablissement, p. 145, say they sailed Aug. 7, 1679. The Recollects were, Louis Hennepin, Gabriel de la Ribourde, and Zenobius Membré. Father Melithon Watteau was left at Niagara: Ib.

[2] They reached Michillimakinac August 26: Description de la Louisiane, p. 61 or 27th; Nouvelle Découverte, p. 133; Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 148; Discovery of the Mississippi, p. 92.

[3] The Chevalier Tonty had been sent on in advance to Detroit, where the Griffin took him aboard: Memoire in Margry, p. 6; Louisiana H. C., i., p. 53. These men had deserted with part of the goods (Discovery of the Mississippi, p. 92; Le Clercq, p. 149; Hennepin, Description de la Louisiane, p. 166), and Tonty was sent to Sault St. Mary's in pursuit of them: Memoir, p. 53.

[4] Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, p. 150; Discovery of the Mississippi, p. 92; Hennepin, Description de la Louisiane, p. 68; Tonty, Memoire in Margry, p. 7.

[5] Called in Hennepin, Description de la Louisiane, p. 103, Le Clercq, ii., p. 151, the River of the Miamis: Tonty, Memoire in Margry, p. 7.

[6] This is a continuation of Charlevoix's error in supposing that Marquette and Allouez were among the Miamis. Marquette founded a mission among the Kaskaskias, at Rockfort, which Allouez continued till 1679: Discovery of the Mississippi, pp. 52–77. Owing to some letters between Alouez and Garnier, the missionary in the Seneca country, against whom la Salle was greatly prejudiced, he had made threats against Allouez which induced him to leave the Illinois country on la Salle's approach. As to Allouez, see Discovery of the Mississippi, p. 67.

[7] La Salle erected a trading-house or fort, called the Fort of the Mia-

1679. nois, and la Sale returned to Catarocouy,[1] where he learned, on his arrival, that little doubt was entertained of the loss of the Griffin. In fact, no very authentic tidings were had of it after it left the Bay.

Some have reported that the Indians no sooner perceived this large vessel sailing over their lakes, than they gave themselves up for lost, unless they could succeed in disgusting the French with this mode of navigating; that the Iroquois in particular, already preparing for a rupture with us, seized this opportunity to spread distrust of us among the Algonquin nations; that they succeeded, especially with the Ottawas, and that a troop of these last, seeing the Griffin at anchor in a bay, ran up under pretext of seeing a thing so novel to them; that, as no one distrusted them, they were allowed to go on board, where there were only five men, who were massacred by these savages; that the murderers carried off all the cargo of the vessel, and then set it on fire. But how could all these details have been known, when we are moreover assured that no Ottawa ever mentioned it?[2]

This misfortune was followed by another no less dis-

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mis: Description de la Louisiane, p. 111; Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 151; Tonty, Memoire, in Margry, p. 7.

[1] La Salle, with all his force except four men left at the Fort of the Miamis, ascended the St. Joseph's (December 3), passed by a portage to the Illinois, and at the end of December reached the Illinois village in a marshy plain at 40° N. (Hennepin, Description de la Louisiane, p. 136), and on the 14th–15th January, 1680, began on a rising ground Fort Crevecœur—so called from his disappointments: Le Clercq, ii., p. 159–160; Hennepin, Description, p. 156; Nouvelle Découverte, p. 226; Tonty, Memoire, p. 8. La Salle left Tonty in command, and returned to Catarocouy by land: Description de la Louisiane, p. 173. March 2, 1680: Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 169; Tonty, Memoire, p. 8. Charlevoix, therefore, introduces his journey back to Fort Frontenac too soon.

[2] This is the account given by De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale, ii., pp. 136–140, and adopted by Colden, History of the Five Nations, N. Y. edition, 1727, p. 29. Hennepin, Description de la Louisiane, p. 72, Nouvelle Découverte, p. 142, says that it put in at the north of Lake Michigan, and that soon after it left some Indians saw it suddenly disappear. Tonty (Memoire, p. 8) merely says it was never afterwards heard of.

heartening to Mr. de la Sale. The nation on whom he reckoned most for the success of his enterprise was the Illinois, then very populous and occupying several posts which could be made convenient trading stations between Canada and the Mississippi. It was to secure these Indians that the Chevalier de Tonti had advanced on that side, and he had without difficulty succeeded in winning them to his interest; but, as he was very slightly attended, he could not save his new allies from receiving, almost under his eyes, a severe repulse at the hands of the Iroquois, who, failing to bring about a rupture between them and the French, wished, before declaring war on us, to put it out of their power to help us, surprised them, and cut to pieces a very great number.

The Illinois are defeated by the Iroquois.

La Sale then beheld himself in a most trying position; he had everything to fear at the hands of the Iroquois, whom he must expect to find everywhere in his path; the Ottawas were suspected, nor could he even trust to the French under his orders, some of whom, it is said, several times attempted his life. They did more: if we may credit what was published at the time, they frequently solicited his own allies to rise upon him, and, to persuade them, did not hesitate to affirm that he had plotted with the Iroquois to effect their total destruction.

La Sale's firmness in his misfortunes.

While all this was going on he arrived among the Illinois, and soon perceived that they had somewhat changed towards him: he even believed himself on the point of having that whole nation upon him, when unable to depend on any of his own men. Nevertheless, he showed no fear; on the contrary, he never displayed greater firmness and resolution. By this he won their esteem; but he wished to inspire too much fear. This was always his great fault, and the main source of his misfortunes. Nor could he ever gain it over himself to be less dissembled, or to be more gracious towards those whom he needed

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[1] See Le Clercq, Etablissement, ii., pp. 157, 171.

1679. most. He did not reflect sufficiently that if the feet and arms cannot act but by direction of the head, it can execute nothing without their ministry.

They seek to poison him.

Towards the close of this year he lost another part of his men, including those in whom he put the greatest confidence. These traitors had formed a plot to poison him,[1] and all whom they knew to be most sincerely attached to him. They were discovered, and had no alternative but flight, which they adopted. La Sale took in their stead a number of young Illinois, whom he found well disposed, and began to prepare in earnest to begin his explorations.[2]

He sends the Sieur Dacan and F.Hennepin up the Micissipi. 1680.

He first detached a man named Dacan with Father Hennepin to ascend the Micissipi above the Illinois River, and if possible to its source.[3]

These two travellers left Fort Crevecœur February 28th, and, having entered the Micissipi, ascended it to about the 46° N. There they were arrested by a pretty high waterfall extending across the whole width of the river, and to which Father Hennepin gave the name of Falls of Saint Anthony of Padua. They then fell, by what accident I know not,[4] into the hands of the Sioux, who retained them as prisoners for a considerable time, but did not maltreat them. They were at last delivered by some

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[1] Tonty, Memoire, Margry, p. 8; Louisiana Hist. Col., i., p. 54.

[2] This is all strangely confused. See note, p 204. He left Fort Crevecœur March 2, 1680, with four Frenchmen and one Indian for Catarocouy (Le Clercq. Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 169), having previously dispatched Hennepin, who set out February 29, 1680: Ib. La Salle did not get back to the Illinois till December 1: Ib., p. 204.

[3] Hennepin was accompanied by Michael Ako, a native of Poitou (Relation de la Louisiane, p. 187; Nouvelle Découverte, p. 239), and Anthony Auguelle, nicknamed le Picard du Gay, a native of Amiens, nephew of du Cauroi, Procurator-General of the Premonstratensians: Nouvelle Découverte, p. 365. As all engaged in la Salle's discoveries were ennobled, Ako assumed the *de*, and his name was written d'Ako, or d'Acau: Tonty, in Margry, p. 8. The latter gave rise to Charlevoix's form, Dacan. He married an Illinois wife: Gravier, Relation, 1693, p. 32.

[4] He was captured by the Sioux, April 11, 1680: Description de la Louisiane, p. 106. As to the spot, see Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi, p. 110, *n*. He reached St. Anthony's Falls a prisoner: Ib., p. 122.

French who came from Canada; then they descended the river to the sea, after which they returned to Fort Crevecœur without any thing of importance happening to them,[1] notwithstanding what is stated in the romance published under the name of the Chevalier de Tonti, which makes them meet with several French settlements in the Micissipi, find the source of that river on a high mountain, and push their course to the Lake of the Assiniboils.[2]

The same must be said of the Recollect Missions found laid down on the maps in several places, and which at best designate places where Father Hennepin said mass or planted a cross. That religious did not understand a word of the languages of all these tribes, and made no stay in any nation, except as a prisoner among the Sioux. The source of the Micissipi is still unknown;[3] the Lake of the Assiniboils is very far from the points reached by the two travellers, and it is certain that the French then

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[1] It is not easy to see how Charlevoix could have read Hennepin's volumes and made such a strange medley. Hennepin left Fort Crevecœur February 29 (le Clercq, ii., pp. 161, 168), and reached the Mississippi March 8, 1680: Description de la Louisiane, p. 193; Nouvelle Découverte, p. 243. In the former work he then, without continuing his diary, describes the river up to the river and lake of the Issati, above St. Anthony's Falls (pp. 194–204), and he mentions their capture by the Sioux, April 11, 1680, without stating where, except remarking, p. 218, that they had made two hundred leagues after leaving the Illinois. After their capture they made two hundred and fifty on the Mississippi (p. 219). In his second work he asserts that on reaching the Mississippi they went down, reached the mouth on the 25th of March, started back April 1, reached the Arkansas on the 9th (Nouvelle Découverte, pp. 245–286), and were taken on the 12th, one hundred and fifty leagues above the mouth of the Illinois (pp. 314–325). According to both accounts, he was delivered by du Luth, and, reaching Green Bay, wintered at Michillimakinac, whence, at Easter, 1681, he descended to Quebec: Description de la Louisiane, pp. 284–296; Nouvelle Découverte (pp. 410–438). The voyage down is now regarded as a subsequent invention. See Spark's Life of la Salle; Discovery of the Mississippi, pp. 99–106.

[2] Tonty, Memoire in Voyages au Nord, v., p. 82; his real Memoir in Margry: Relations, etc., pp. 1–36; Louisiana Hist. Col., i., p. 52, has nothing of the kind.

[3] Schoolcraft traced one branch to its source in a lake which he preposterously called Itasca Lake, compounding itas of veritas with ca of caput, to make *true head.*

1680. had no settlement on the banks of the river which they descended. It is even quite difficult to understand how they could go to its mouth, descend it and ascend it again to the 46th degree, remain prisoners several months among the Sioux, and all that in less than a year. Accordingly, it was never believed in Canada that they did any thing but return to Fort Crevecœur by the same route they had taken in ascending to the Falls of St. Anthony.[1]

He builds a new fort.

Be that as it may, new troubles which befell Mr. de la Sale after the departure of Dacan and Father Hennepin, detained him at his Fort Crevecœur till the month of November,[2] and then compelled him to return to Catarocouy. On his way he perceived on the Illinois river, which he was ascending, a site which seemed to him very well adapted for the erection of a new fort.[3] He traced the plan of one, called Mr. de Tonti, whom he appointed to build it, and continued his route. Scarcely had Tonti begun his work when he received information that the French whom he had left in Fort Crevecœur had revolted. He hastened back, but found only seven or eight men, the rest having deserted, with all that they were able to carry.[4]

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[1] Charlevoix persists in making Hennepin return to Crevecœur against his express statement.

[2] He remained only a few days: Ante, p. 204, note. He set out March 2, 1680 (le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 169), or March 22d: Tonty, in Margry; Relations, p. 8; Louisiana Hist. Col., i., p. 45; Hennepin, Description de la Louisiane, p. 184. Of his journey we have no details. Tonty and Membré say he had five men, four Frenchmen and one Indian. Membré says he reached the Illinois village on the 11th, and after one day there, continued his route to Fort Frontenac on the ice, as though he went as he had come. He was back to Crevecœur by November.

[3] Tonty, Memoire in Margry, p. 8; Louisiana Hist. Col., i., p. 55. This is usually supposed to be Buffalo Rock; but Parkman, examining the ground with the best documents in hand, locates it at Starved Rock. The great Illinois village called by Marquette and Allouez, Kaskaskia, was on the opposite side, about midway between it and the Big Vermillion river, the Aramoni of la Salle.

[4] He says they left him only two Recollects and three men: Memoir, Louisiana Hist. Col., p. 55. Le Clercq, Etablissement, ii., p. 171, details the desertion. La Salle, notified by Ton-

1680.

New hostilities of the Iroquois against the Illinois.

Soon after[1] the Iroquois appeared, to the number of six hundred warriors, in sight of the Illinois settlements, and this irruption having increased the distrust of the Illinois against the French, the Chevalier de Tonti found himself in a strange embarrassment. The course which he adopted was to make himself a mediator between the two Indian nations, and in this negotiation he employed successfully the Recollect Fathers Gabriel de la Ribourde and Zenobius Membré, who had remained with him at Crevecœur. But the peace was not lasting, and the Iroquois, emboldened by the fear with which they seemed to be regarded, soon renewed their hostilities.[2]

The English are suspected of exciting the Indians against us and our allies.

Mr. de Frontenac, in a letter which he addressed to the king on the 2d of November in the ensuing year, 1681,[3] pretends that this war of the Iroquois against the Illinois was fomented by the English and by the enemies of Mr. de la Sale; but he does not explain who were these enemies of Mr. de la Sale. In fact, that explorer had many in the colony, and these had been raised up by his exclusive privilege for trade, and still more by the manner in which he enforced it; but it is scarcely probable that they would expose themselves to ruin in order to ruin him. Passion, I know, sometimes carries men further than they wish to go; but something more than mere conjecture is needed for such accusations, and one of the defects of the Count de Frontenac was his giving too wide a scope to his suspicions.[4]

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ty, kept watch for these deserters, and, surprising them on Lake Ontario, killed some and took others: Tonty, in Margry, p. 8.

[1] Not very soon: for the desertion took place in the middle of March (le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, p. 178, and the approach of the Iroquois was announced September 10, 1680 (Ib., p. 184).

[2] Tonty was stabbed by a Seneca brave; and though he prevented a battle, the Iroquois did much injury, and the Illinois sent off their women and children and gradually retired, leaving the French alone: le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., pp. 184–190; Tonty, Memoir in Margry, p. 9; Louisiana Hist. Col., i., pp. 55–6.

[3] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 148.

[4] La Salle was overwhelmed with debts, and his creditors began to press him, losing all faith in his projects.

1680. As to the English, there was more than one reason to believe them the instigators of this rupture; nor was it only in the direction of the Illinois that they endeavored to excite troubles for us by means of the Iroquois. Their object in so doing was this: Acadia, the fort on St. John's River, and that of Pentagoët had been for the fourth time restored to France by the English, and Mr. de Chambly had been appointed governor, he having previously, as well as the Chevalier de Grandfontaine, only enjoyed the title of commandant.

Acadia restored to France.

A small settlement had subsequently grown up at Port Royal, which then became the capital of this government, which, besides Acadia, comprised all the southern coast of New France, but which was always subordinate to the governor-general. In fact, nothing was more wretched than this settlement, and although all whom chance or private business led to those parts incessantly represented the injustice of neglecting to settle and fortify such fine provinces, their remonstrances were ineffectual, and did not even silence those who continued to publish that Acadia was good for nothing.

The English seize it again.

The English, on the contrary, approached it steadily as closely as they could, and after the restitution of Pentagoët they had built between that post and the Kennebec a good fort in a place which bore the name of Pemkuit.[1] The Abénakis, to whom the site belonged, took umbrage at it, and the English soon perceived that in these Indians they had disagreeable neighbors. To have nothing to fear from them, they deemed it necessary to involve them with the Iroquois, who did not require much urging to open a war with the Abénaquis. The latter, too feeble to resist the English and the Iroquois at once, were forced to make terms with the former.[1]

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[1] Conduite des François Justifiée, p. 98. This fort, a wooden redoubt with an outwork and two bastions, was erected in June, 1677, by Sir Elmund Andros, on a neck of land on Sheepscot River, now called Newcastle. Andros acted for the Duke of York, whose charter from Charles II., March 12, 1664, gave him from the St. Croix to Pemaquid: N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 256.

The commander of Fort Pemkuit then carried his pretensions further, and found none to raise any obstacle. Mr. de Chambly had just been transferred to the governorship of Granada, and Acadia had as yet no governor nominated. It was sustained neither from Quebec nor from France, so that Pentagoët and the fort on the River St. John were invaded without resistance. The inhabitants of Port Royal, who beheld the storm ready to burst over them, resolved to treat with the English, nor could Mr. de la Valliere, who commanded them under a simple commission from the Count de Frontenac, prevent them. Thus the English for the fifth time became masters of Acadia and of all that separates it from New England.[2]

The Chevalier Tonti is obliged to abandon the Illinois River

Hitherto the Iroquois had not openly declared against the French: they at last undertook to drive them from the River of the Illinois, and the Chevalier de Tonti, having received information that an army of those Indians was coming to invest him in his Fort Crevecœur, did not consider it prudent to await their approach, and retired.[3]

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[1] For the Indian affairs see Hubbard's Indian Wars. The use of the Iroquois is mentioned in N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 148; Williamson's Maine, i., p. 575; Canada Doc., II., iv., p. 63.

[2] Frontenac's dispatch, November 2, 1681, notes English fishing encroachments, and speaks of la Valliere as at Port Royal, without intimating that the French posts had been taken. De Chesneau reports de la Valliere as robbing the settlers: N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 148, 159. The Chevalier de Grandfontaine, in 1680–1, appointed the Baron St. Castin his lieutenant: N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 918, 265; iii., p. 450. Palmer and West, acting under Dongan, claimed to the St. Croix, and in 1686 seized a lot of wine at Pentagoët, and the Jane, on which they were imported, for not having paid duties at Pemaquid (N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 919; Hutchinson's Papers, p. 548), but the French government remonstrated (Mem. des Commissaires, ii., p. 328), and restitution was made. In April, 1688, however, Andros proceeded in the frigate Rose, Captain George, to Pentagoët, which he plundered, St. Castin escaping to the woods: Hutchinson's Col., pp. 562–6.

[3] See ante. Tonty met them and had some parleying with them. Tonty was wounded by a young Onondaga brave: Hennepin, Description de la Louisiane, p. 305; le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 187; Tonty's Memoir, Margry, Relations, p. 9; Louisiana Hist. Col., i., p. 55: N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 163.

1680. Count de Frontenac, in his letter to the king already cited, states that Tonti was pursued and wounded, and Father Gabriel de la Ribourde killed by the Iroquois.[1] He apparently was led to believe so from the first rumors, which almost always exaggerate bad tidings. The truth is, that Tonti, not believing himself in a position to defend his fort against the Iroquois, evacuated it on the 11th of September, 1680,[2] with five Frenchmen, who constituted his whole garrison, and the two Recollect Fathers whom I have already named, but he was not followed, or at least there was no action between him and the Iroquois.

A Recollect Father killed by the Kicapous.

After ascending the Illinois River five leagues, he halted to dry his furs, and Father Gabriel having strayed a little into the woods while saying his breviary, was met by some Kicapous, who killed him, apparently, in order to rob him.[3] He was a holy religious, highly esteemed in New France for his virtue and moderation, and who had consulted his courage rather than his strength before attaching himself to an expedition, of which his age of seventy-one could not ensure his seeing the close.[4] This misfortune for some days delayed the march of the Chevalier de Tonti, who went to the bay of Lake Michigan to winter.[5]

Mr. de la Sale could not have been informed of this retreat, and he was greatly surprised when, early in the spring of the following year, he found no one at Fort Crevecœur on his reaching it.[1] Having stationed a new garrison there, he dispatched men to work at a second fort, which he had traced the year before, and which was called Fort St. Louis. He then proceeded to Michillimakinac,[2] where the Chevalier de Tonti had shortly before arrived with his party.[3] They all set out from it together towards the end of August to proceed to Catarocouy,[4] and after three months spent in running up and down to recruit a new body of Frenchmen and collect supplies, la Sale, with his whole force, took up his march for the Illinois, and there found his two forts in the position in which he had left them.[5]

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[1] Frontenac to the king, Nov. 2, 1681: N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 147; Canada Doc., I., ii., p. 81.

[2] Membré, in le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 191, says the 18th. Tonty's Memoir in Margry, p. 12; L. H. Col., i., p. 57.

[3] Membré, in le Clercq, ii, p. 191; Tonty, Memoire in Margry, p. 12; Louisiana H. Col., p. 58.

[4] Father Gabriel de la Ribourde was the last of a noble Burgundian house. He was born about 1615, and apparently entered the Franciscan order at the age of 30. After holding responsible offices in Europe, he came to America in 1670, and succeeded Father Allart as commissary and superior of the mission. He died, it would seem, Sept. 19, 1680: Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 194; Hennepin, Description de la Louisiane, p. 308; Découverte d'un Pays, etc., pp. 449–459.

[5] Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., pp. 192–200. Father Membré was entertained during the winter by the Jesuits at their mission: Ib.; Tonty, Memoire in Margry, p. 13; L. H. Col., i., p. 58; Canada Doc., II., iv., pp., 60, 61.

Mr de la Sale descends the Micissipi to the sea.

He descended the Illinois River, and on the 2d of February, 1682, he found himself on the Micissipi.[6] On the 4th of March, with all the usual ceremonies, he took pos-

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[1] La Salle found trouble enough on reaching Fort Frontenac. His men had been debauched, many had deserted and robbed him. A vessel from France with a precious cargo for him was wrecked, many of his canoes loaded with furs were lost, and his creditors had seized everything: Le Clercq, ii., p. 203. Arranging matters as best he could, he collected a new force and set out from Fort Frontenac July 23, 1680. He reached Detroit at the end of August, and Michillimakinac soon after. On the 4th of October he set out for Fort Crevecœur, but, taking the eastern shore of the lake, missed Tonty's party. He reached the River of the Miamis Nov. 28, and the Illinois village Dec. 1: Le Clercq, ii., pp. 200–7; Tonty, L. H. Col., i., p. 59. A Memoir of la Salle to Frontenac, dated Nov. 9, 1680, describing the route, is given by Tomassy, Géologie Pratique de la Louisiane; Hist. Mag., v., p. 196.

[2] He set out for Michillimakinac May 22, 1681: Le Clercq, ii., p. 207. Membré says nothing of Fort St. Louis.

[3] Tonty's party reached Michillimakinac about Corpus Christi, in 1681: Memoire in Margry, p. 8. Corpus Christi fell that year June 5: Blondel, Calendrier Romain, p. 396. The translation in Louisiana Hist. Col. makes it October.

[4] Le Clercq, ii., p. 208, gives no date, but probably in June. It could not be as late as August, inasmuch as we find that he embarked on Lake Erie for the West August 28, and reached St. Joseph November 3: Le Clercq, ii., p. 223.

[5] This time la Salle went to Chicago, and took that route to the Illinois River, as Marquette and Allouez had done: Tonty, Memoire in Margry, p. 14; le Clercq, ii., pp. 214–15. Membré mentions Fort Crevecœur as in good condition, and mentions no other: Ib., p. 216.

[6] Membré, in le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 217, says they reached the mouth of the Seignelay (Illinois), on the Colbert (Mississippi),

1681–3. session of the country of the Akansas,[1] and on the 9th of April he explored the mouth of the river, where he made a new act of taking possession in form.[2] This is all that is certainly known as to this voyage. For as regards the circumstances given in the pretended Relation of the Chevalier Tonti, the credit to be ascribed to which may be judged by what is stated at the end, that according to the calculations of Mr. de la Sale, the mouth of the Micissipi is between the twenty-second and twenty-third degrees of north latitude, and forms a channel two leagues wide, very deep, and very easy of navigation.[3]

He returns to France.

This important exploration thus completed, and the whole course of one of the greatest rivers in the world secured to France by acts of taking possession, to which no objection could be taken,[4] la Sale re-embarked on the 11th of April;[5] but he certainly did not make fifty leagues

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Feb. 6. Tonty, Memoire in Margry; Relations, p. 14; Louisiana Hist. Col., p. 59, says end of April.

[1] Membré (le Clercq, ii., p. 214) and the Act of Taking Possession, Louisiana H. C., i., p. 47; Margry, Relations, p. 15, say 14th. Tonty gives no date.

[2] Le Clercq, Etablissement, ii., p. 237; Tonty, Memoire in Margry, p. 19; Louisiana Hist. Col., i., p. 63. Charlevoix gives a very meagre account of la Salle's voyage. We have two authentic accounts, Membré, in le Clercq, and Tonty's. After entering the Mississippi, la Salle passed the mouth of the Ozage (Missouri), and on the east the Tamaroas and the Ouabache (Ohio). On the 24th of January, 1682, Prudhomme, one of his men, was lost, and he threw up a kind of fort while looking for him. This Fort Prudhomme long figured on maps. On March 3d, hearing drums and war-cries from the Akansas, he landed and threw up an intrenchment. On the 22d (or 20th) he reached the Taensas, and was well received. On the 26th he came to the Natchez, where he again planted a cross and smoked the calumet with the Koroas. On April 2 (3d) he reached the Quinipissas, who, in spite of the calumet, attacked his men. He soon after found Maheouala, a Tangiboa town, just destroyed. On the 6th (7th) the river was found to divide into three channels. He took the western, d'Autray, son of John Bourdon of Quebec, the southern, Tonty the middle one.

[3] See this corrupt edition of Tonty in Voyage au Nord, vol. v., pp. 129, 131. The real narrative in Margry, Memoires, and Louisiana Hist. Col., i., does not contain these statements.

[4] Ferdinand de Soto more than once crossed the Micissipi, which his historian, Garcilaso de la Vega, calls Cucagua. He was even thrown into it after his death, but he made no settlement there. *Charlevoix.*

[5] Membré, ii., p. 39, says 10th. They were out of provisions, and

the first day, as the Relation just cited pretends, for a man is very fortunate who can make seven or eight going up the stream in a canoe. On the 15th of May he fell sick,[1] and detached the Chevalier de Tonti, with instructions to use all possible diligence to reach Michillimakinac.[2] For his own part, he proceeded to spend part of the winter at the Bay,[3] and did not reach Quebec till the spring of the ensuing year, 1683.[4] Some months after he embarked for France,[5] taking with him the Sieur de la Forest, Major of Caterocouy, a very worthy man and good officer, who served the king most faithfully in America.

Recall of Frontenac and du Chesneau.

Many changes had taken place in the colony during the absence of Mr. de la Sale, and many were not so favorably disposed towards him as they were when he began his explorations. The misunderstanding between the governor-general and the intendant had reached such a point, that it was no longer possible for them to dwell together. It is certain that the court ascribed the greatest wrong to the Count de Frontenac; but Mr. du Chesneau, worthy man as he was, had not complaisance enough to bear with the haughty manners and domineering humor of the general, although the minister and the king himself had commended nothing so earnestly; thus for lack of patience to leave the Count de Frontenac in the wrong, he some-

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lived some days on potatoes and alligator, and on some dried meat found at the mouth of the river, that proved to be human flesh.

[1] On his return up, the Quinipissas again refused the calumet, but firearms dispersed them. A truce was made, but they attacked his camp at night, April 18th, and were repulsed after a fight in which la Salle killed ten and wounded many. May 1, la Salle was at Koroa; 18th he left Akansa with two canoes, and fell sick at Fort Prudhomme, one hundred leagues below the Illinois River: le Clercq, ii., pp. 239–246; Tonty, in Margry, pp. 20, 21. Tonty went on to Michillimakinac, and la Salle, on recovering, followed by way of Chicago, and late in September reached the River of the Miamis.

[2] Tonty, Mem. in Margry, p. 21.

[3] I find no authority for this, and it looks improbable.

[4] He left Fort St. Louis in Sept., 1683: Tonty, Memoire in Margry, p. 21; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 799.

[5] He reached Quebec in Nov., and Rochelle Dec. 23: le Clercq, ii., 271. Tonty is obscure. De la Barre to Seignelay, Nov., 1683; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 204.

1682–3. times shared it with him, and his majesty deemed it best to recall both.[1]

Their successors, and the instructions given them.

Mr. le Febvre de la Barre[2] was appointed governor-general, and Mr. de Meules intendant. Their several commissions bear date May, 1682.[3] In the instructions which accompany them, the king recommended especially to the former to maintain a harmonious concert of action with Count de Blenac, governor-general of the French West Indies, because they were then convinced that these two colonies might derive great advantages from a mutual interchange of their products.[4] His majesty, in the instructions which he gave Mr. de Meules, insisted strongly on what he had so frequently and so ineffectually ordered his predecessor, to give all his care to living in harmony with the governor-general; adding, that if he saw Mr. de la Barre, in the discharge of his functions, do any thing manifestly contrary to the good of the service, he should content himself with remonstrating with him, and showing him the orders which he had received; after that he was to leave him to act without annoying him, but to report to the council whatever happened detrimental to the interests of the state.[5]

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[1] Perrot, Mœurs et Coustumes, p. 131.

[2] Le Febvre la Barre, in France had been maitre des requêtes, a judicial officer, and then Intendant of Bourbonnais. Attracted by the colony of Cayenne, he formed to settle it the second French Equinoctial Company, which received letters-patent in October, 1663. Under it de la Barre was made governor and lieutenant-general. He arrived in Cayenne with de Tracy May 11, 1664: Montezon, Mission de Cayenne, Paris, 1857, p. 9. In July, 1665, this company was merged in the West India Company: Jefferys, History of the French Dominion, ii., p. 201. He went to France in 1665. He wrote "Description de la France Equinoctiale, cy-devant appelee Gvyanne, et par les Espagnols, El Dorado," published by Jean Ribov in 1666, 4to. During his absence in France the English captured Cayenne, but de la Barre was sent out with a fleet in 1666, and, after reducing Antigua and Monserrat, recovered Cayenne. He next defeated the English off Nevis: Grillet, in Mission de Cayenne, Paris, 1857, p. 193, etc.; Du Tertre, Hist. des Antilles. In Canada he lost all the reputation that he had gained in the West Indies.

[3] See de la Barre's commission, May 1, 1682; Arrets et Ordonnances, iii., p. 44; de Meulles, ib., p. 46.

[4] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 167; Canada Documents, I., ii., p. 153.

[5] These instructions I do not find.

1682–3.

Origin of the Iroquois war.

New France had for several years been in great confusion, and for some time beheld a war menacing which was capable of plunging it once more into its former miseries; moreover, its strength seemed to diminish from day to day, for at the last census of the colony, taken in 1679, it was found to contain only eight thousand five hundred and fifteen persons, without including the government of Acadia, where there was but a small population.[1] We have already seen that the Iroquois did not observe very exactly the articles of peace agreed upon with them; but these Indians did not wish to declare war on us till after they had their measures well laid to make it successfully, and they devoted themselves especially to detach our allies from us, or render them useless to us.

Several things had contributed to draw this nation down on us again. After New York returned to the power of the English, Colonel Dongan,[2] the governor, had paid great attention to supplying the Iroquois with goods at a lower rate than the French could do, because the company which then controlled all the fur-trade, took by preference one-fourth of the beavers, the tenth part of the leather, and other furs, and purchased all the rest at quite a moderate rate. Moreover, several untoward affairs had occurred which had soured their minds. Two Frenchmen having been killed by Indians near Lake Superior, the Sieur de Luth, into whose hands the assassins fell, shot them.[3] On the other hand, several insults received from these savages had been left unpunished, and this toler-

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[1] Du Chesneau in his Report, Nov. 10, 1679 (N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 136), says 9,400 in Canada and 515 in Acadia. See ib., p. 142.

[2] Thomas Dongan, the real founder of English colonial policy, was born in 1634, younger son of Sir John Dongan, an Irish baronet. After serving in the French army, he was recalled to England, and made lieutenant-governor of Tangier. He was governor of New York from 1682 to 1688. He became Earl of Limerick in 1698, and died in London Dec. 14, 1715: O'Callaghan, Origin of New York Assemblies, p. 33.

[3] This affair seems misplaced. Du Luth's execution of two Iroquois for killing two Frenchmen is mentioned by de la Barre in 1684: N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 233.

1681. ance, which had drawn on us their contempt, caused the proceeding of the Sieur de Luth to be regarded as violent; as though the French, by long putting up with affronts, had lost the right of avenging themselves.

At last an unforeseen accident revealed the whole evil disposition of the Iroquois in our regard. In the month of September, 1681, a Seneca chief was killed at Michillimakinac by an Illinois, with whom he had had some private quarrel.[1] In these collisions, the first resentment of the aggrieved party falls not on the murderer or his nation, but on the masters of the spot where the offence is
1682–3. given. Thus it fell to the Kiskacons, an Ottawa tribe among whom the Seneca had been killed, to offer satisfaction to the Iroquois, and on the first tidings which Count de Frontenac received of what had occurred, he dispatched a confidential agent to the cantons, to exhort them to suspend all hostilities till he had time to have justice done by the Kiskacons.[2]

Insolent propositions of those savages to Mr. de Frontenac.

He at the same time invited them to send deputies to him at Catarocouy, whither he was proceeding in person, with whom he might treat of this affair, and all other subjects of complaint that might exist on either side. A few days after he received a letter from Onondaga, informing him that those Indians required him to advance to the mouth of the Oswego River (Chouguen),[3] and this arrogant pretension, it was added, was undoubtedly inspired by Colonel Dongan, under the impression that the governor-general would reject it with contempt, and so break off all negotiation with the Iroquois cantons.

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[1] The Seneca chief, Annanhac, was a prisoner in the hands of some Green Bay Indians, and the quarrel arose from the taunts of the Hurons as to an Illinois girl held as a slave by the Seneca. An Illinois at last killed him with Tonty's knife, in presence of that officer: N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 164, 176; Canada Doc., I., iv., p. 69.

[2] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 64. The envoy was the Sieur Lamarque: Ib., p. 169. The Kiskakons was one of the three Ottawa nations who fled to the Mississippi with the Hurons. The others were the Sinagaux and Keinouches.

[3] This is the proper name of the river of Onondaga which empties into Lake Ontario. *Charlevoix.* The letter was from Father. John de Lamberville: N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 170, 190.

The general's reply.

In fact, Mr. de Frontenac replied to the writer of the letter that he would never consent to take such a step; in the first place, because this condescension would only increase the insolence of the Iroquois: in the second place, because, even were it not against his dignity to do it, he could not undertake the voyage in a becoming manner or securely for his person without great expense: thirdly, because he had not yet seen the Kiskacons, and did not know what resolution they had taken.[1] He closed by begging the writer of the letter to use every exertion to induce the Onondagas to adopt more reasonable and respectful sentiments.

The latter not only deemed this impossible, but even considered it dangerous to attempt it. He informed the general that the principal chiefs of the Iroquois nation, those even most attached to the French, persisted in their demand for an interview with him at the mouth of the Oswego; and that if he refused, there was every reason to fear that these Indians would proceed to some extreme measure, which he would repent not having prevented.[2]

At the same time that this second letter was handed to Count de Frontenac, he was secretly warned not to go to Oswego unless well attended, and that the Iroquois, contrary to their wont, had spoken of him very insolently.[3]

The course which he adopted.

From whatever source this information came, Frontenac took great pains to give it publicity; but what seemed at last to decide him against going to Oswego was his conviction that at bottom the Iroquois esteemed him and would not make war on him. He accordingly resolved not to derogate from that hauteur with which, after the

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[1] Frontenac's council advised him not to go to Téchoueguen or La Famine, as the Iroquois asked, but to insist on Fort Frontenac. See opinions N. Y. Col. Doc., pp. 168–173, 174; ib., p. 190; Canada Doc., I., iv., p. 61.

[2] N. Y. Colonial Documents, ix., p. 191.

[3] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 191.

1682–3. example of Mr. de Courcelles, he had always treated the Indians. He publicly declared that he took the Ottawas and all his old allies under his protection, and permitted the Kiskacons to build new forts for their defence in case they were attacked.

He did more; some Iroquois, gained by Father John de Lamberville, their missionary, having yielded so far as to consent to treat at Catarocouy, he replied that he would go no further than Montreal, and that if the Iroquois wished to speak to him he would await them there till the month of June; but that period ended, he would return to Quebec.[1] This reply irritated the Iroquois, and they declared, on their side, that they would not treat with the governor-general except at Oswego. On this Mr. du Chesneau wrote in July to Mr. de Frontenac, who was still at Montreal, that in his opinion and that of several persons of experience, he should concede to the Iroquois what they required, the more especially as, according to information received from France, no reinforcement could be expected from that quarter.[2]

Expedient suggested by the intendant. Refused, and why.

He added that there was a means of taking this step without derogating from his dignity and without exposing his person; namely, to proceed in a bark, to be followed by a brigantine, and when he was in sight of Oswego to invite the Iroquois deputies on board.[3] The reply of the general was, that he did not disapprove this expedient, but that he could not bring himself to adopt it; that after the insolent manner in which the Indians had treated the last proposition which he had made them, it would be flattering their pride too much to go and meet them in their own territory; that he was always disposed to listen to them, when he had seen the Kiskacons, provided they conformed to their duty; but that it was well to make the necessary preparatives for maintaining the war, and that they must both act in concert on this occasion, although they had information of the appointment of their successors, inasmuch as these gentlemen would perhaps not arrive in time to make head against an enemy who was always ready to commence hostilities.[1]

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[1] N. Y. Colonial Documents, ix., p. 191.

[2] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 191.

[3] Ib., p. 174.

Iroquois deputies at Montreal.

A short time after the general, while visiting the côtes of Montreal, met the Sieur de la Forêt, Major of Catarocouy, who was bringing to him five Iroquois. They were deputies of the five cantons, who had orders to assure their father Onontһio that they were disposed to live well with him and with his allies. The head of this deputation was an Onondaga chief named Teganissorens, who was strongly attached to the French nation, and had made great exertions to calm the minds of his countrymen, and had, he supposed, succeeded.

Mr. de Frontenac gave him audience on the 11th of September, and on the next day replied that it would never be his fault that a good understanding was not restored between the two nations; but as the Illinois were excepted from the peace which the cantons wished to maintain with our allies, and as Teganissorens had declared that they were preparing to make war on them vigorously, the general made that deputy fine presents to induce him to divert the blow. He promised to do so; but we shall soon see that he knew not the secret policy of his nation, which had used him to cloak its real designs.[2]

Deputies from the other nations.

He had scarcely left Montreal, when other deputies arrived representing the Kiskacons, the Hurons of Michillimakinac, and the Miamis. Count de Frontenac omitted nothing to induce the former to make satisfaction to the Senecas for the murder of which I have spoken. They replied that they had empowered the Hurons to present belts to them on their behalf; that they were not obliged to do more, not being guilty of the assassination; but that

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[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 175.

[2] See proceedings of conference, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 183–189; Canada Doc., I., ii., pp. 206–213.

1682–3. the Hurons, who sought only to embroil matters, far from discharging their commission, had inflamed the Iroquois still more against them. The general insisted in vain in his endeavor to persuade them to further measures for the sake of peace. All that he could obtain was, that they would act solely on the defensive.[1]

Arrival of Messrs. de la Barre and de Meules.

Affairs were in this position when Messieurs de la Barre and des Meules arrived at Quebec.[2] They had even just learned that Teganissoren's deputation had been sent by the cantons with no other object than to amuse the French, and that war had actually begun against the Illinois. Accordingly, they expected soon to see the Iroquois in arms in the midst of the colony. On the other hand, they were not long in perceiving that the creatures of Mr. de Frontenac would not find the same protection in his successor ; and it seems, in fact, that Mr. de Barre had either arrived from France already prepossessed, or allowed himself from the outset to be prejudiced against the Sieur de la Sale, in regard to whom he avowed himself too soon not to give reason to judge that he did so without having actually well weighed himself the conduct of that explorer.

Mr. de la Barre writes to the court against Mr. de la Sale.

On the 14th of November, in this same year, he wrote to the minister that de la Sale's imprudence had enkindled war between the French and the Iroquois, and that the colony might well be attacked before it was in a position to defend itself. He added that the Recollect Father Zenobius, who had just arrived at Quebec in order to proceed to France, had been unwilling to impart any information to him in regard to the new discoveries ; but that he did not believe that much reliance could be placed on all that that friar might relate, or regard these discoveries as very important; finally, that la Sale seemed to have very evil designs.[1] 1682–3.

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[1] The conference with the Western Indians was in August 13, 1682, that with the Iroquois September 11. For the former see Canada Doc., II., i., p. 183 ; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 176.

[2] They arrived in September, 1682 (de la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale, ii., p. 148), to find Quebec nearly destroyed by a conflagration in which, in Aug. 5, says Mother Juchereau, more wealth perished than Canada had left: Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu, p. 256.

In another letter, dated April 30th, in the following year, he says that he is at last convinced of the falsity of all that had been published as to the discoveries reported to the minister by la Sale through a Recollect Father; that that voyageur was actually with a score of vagabonds, French and Indian, at the head of (Green) bay, where he set himself up as a sovereign, pillaged and set ransom on his countrymen, exposed the nations to the incursions of the Iroquois, and covered all these acts of violence by the pretext of a permission which he had received from his majesty to possess the exclusive trade in the countries which he might discover; that for this claim he had no foundation, as the bay (Green Bay) and the adjacent country were known and frequented by the French long before he arrived in America; finally, that his privilege would expire on the 12th of the succeeding May, after which he would be compelled to come to Quebec, where his creditors, to whom he owed over 30,000 crowns, impatiently awaited him.[2]

Such is the lot of those men whom a mixture of great defects and great virtues draws from the common sphere. Their passions hurry them into faults; and if they do what others could not, their enterprises are not to the taste of all men. Their success excites the jealousy of those who remain in obscurity. They benefit some and injure others; the latter take their revenge by decrying them without moderation; the former exaggerate their merit. Hence the different portraits drawn of them, none of which are really true; but as hatred and the itching for slander always go further than gratitude and friendship, and calumny finds more easy credence with the public than praise and eulogy, the enemies of the Sieur de la Sale disfigured his portrait more than his friends embellished it.

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[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 204.

[2] Canada Doc., II., iv., p. 153.

1682–3.

Effect produced by his letters.

Fortunately for him his cause was carried to a tribunal where they were prepossessed in his favor; and as he followed close on the letters written against him to the court, his presence there effaced at least a part of the impression sought to be given against his conduct. It was not that Mr. de Seignelay deemed him altogether free from the faults laid to his charge; but weighing his talents in his own mind, he thought it his duty to employ them. He nevertheless gave him good advice as to his past conduct, and la Sale's misfortunes arose, as we shall see in the sequel, from not profiting by it.

Assembly of the notables of the colony.

Meanwhile Mr. de la Barre had no sooner taken in hand the reins of government than he saw that New France was in an extremely delicate crisis. This obliged him to convene an assembly, to which he invited not only the intendant and bishop, but also the chief officers of the troops, several members of the superior council, the heads of subaltern jurisdictions, the superior of the seminary, and the superior of the missions. He requested them all to give him their advice as to the cause and nature of the evil, and the remedies to be applied.

It interests the new governor as to the situation of affairs.

In the first place, it was explained to the general that the object of the Iroquois was to attract to them all the commerce of Canada, in order to transfer it to the English and Dutch of New York; that, consequently, those two nations must be regarded as our first enemies, and that, in fact, they had for a long time been unceasingly, though covertly, stimulating the cantons to a rupture with us; that those Indians, not to have too powerful antagonists to contend with, sought to amuse us while they were laboring to seduce our allies, or destroy one after another all whom they could not detach from our interests; that they had begun by the Illinois; that it was vitally important for us to save these Indians from sinking under their blows, but that was no easy matter; that the colony could at most put under arms a thousand men, and even to effect that, part of the agricultural labors must be suspended.

1682–3. It was next represented to him that before openly taking up arms the storehouses must first be well supplied with provisions and ammunition, as near as possible to the enemy; for the reason that as the object was not merely to alarm the Iroquois, as we contented ourselves with doing in Mr. de Tracy's time, but to reduce them to such a point that they would no longer be in a condition to molest us, we should be obliged to remain longer in or near their country; that Fort Catarocouy was of great advantage for this design, inasmuch as from that post we could in forty-eight hours fall on the Seneca canton, the most remote of all; that it was indispensable to have three or four barks on Lake Ontario to carry provisions, munitions, and a part of the men, wherever it might be necessary; that it was on the shores of the Senecas that war must first be carried, but before being involved in such an enterprise it would be necessary to solicit of the king two or three hundred soldiers, a part of whom might be placed in garrison in Forts Catarocouy and La Galette, to guard the head of the colony, while all the forces were without; that it would also be expedient to beg his majesty to send into the country a thousand or fifteen hundred employees to cultivate the ground in the absence of the settlers, as well as means for the storehouses and the building of the barks; that to induce the king to meet this expense, it was necessary to convince him of the necessity of the war and of the inability of the colony to sustain it; and especially to lay before him that the lack of relief from France was beginning to draw on us the contempt of the Indians, whereas were these tribes to behold French troops arrive, the Iroquois would, perhaps, think twice before attacking us; nor would our allies hesitate to aid us with all their might against a nation whose power they dreaded, but over whom they would feel certain of triumphing did they but see us in a position to assist them vigorously.

Mr. de la Barre drew up a report of this deliberation

1682–3. and sent it to the court.[1] It was strongly approved, and the king gave orders to send over as soon as possible two hundred soldiers. His majesty wrote to the governor-general, and in his letter, which is dated August 5, 1673, informed him that Colonel Dongan, governor of New York, would have received a very explicit order from the king of Great Britain to maintain a good understanding with the French, and that there was doubt of his obeying his instructions.[2] Dongan did, indeed, receive such an order, but we shall soon see that he pretended obedience only the better to deceive the French, and that he was the prime mover of the bloody war waged upon us by the Iroquois for nearly thirty years. In the same letter which we have just cited, the king recommended to Mr. de la Barre to prevent the English, as far as lay in him, from establishing themselves in Hudson's Bay, of which we had taken possession some years before, and of which it is necessary to give the reader briefly means of forming some idea.

The king sends troops to Canada.

Description of Hudson's Bay.

After doubling the northern point of Newfoundland, steering northwestward, and coasting steadily along the land of Labrador, you advance till about 63° N. latitude, where you find a strait which bears the name of Hudson. This strait runs east and west, inclining to the northwest, and its outlet is at 64° N. At this place the sea forms a bay three hundred leagues, or thereabouts, in length, and this is what is called Hudson's Bay. Its width varies: for as you go from north to south it diminishes gradually from two hundred leagues to thirty-five. Its southern extremity is at 51°.

Nothing is more fearful than the country by which it is surrounded. On whatever side you cast your eyes, nothing can be seen but wild and uncultivated lands, precipitous rocks rising to the sky, intersected by deep ravines and sterile valleys where the sun does not penetrate, and which the snow and glaciers, that never melt, render unapproachable.[1] The sea is open only from the beginning of July to the end of September,[2] and even then there will be met at times icebergs of immense size, which cause navigators the greatest embarrassment; for at the moment when it is least expected, the tide or a current strong enough to sweep the ship along and render it ungovernable, suddenly invests it with so great a number of these floating shoals, that as far as the eye can reach nothing can be seen but ice.

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[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 194; Canada Doc., II., i., p. 242.

[2] 1683: N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 200; Canada Doc., I., ii., p. 259.

Observation on the ice of these seas.

There is no other means of protection against them than to make fast to the largest and keep off the others with long iron-pointed poles, a supply of which must be laid in when one of these perilous voyages is undertaken.[3] But as soon as a passage is opened, it is necessary to profit by it at once; for should a storm unfortunately come on while the ship is thus besieged by icebergs, it is a great chance if it gets clear. These icebergs are generally formed by the waters of several torrents which empty into the bay. The heat of the sun, even in the dogdays, cannot melt them, and can at most loosen them, when they come down with a fearful noise, bringing a quantity of earth and sometimes rocks of considerable size.[4] As rumblings are quite frequently heard in this bay which might alarm navigators, it is well that they should know that besides the part contributed by the torrents which dash from the high rocks into the sea, the chief cause is a kind of boiling up caused by the islands and cakes of ice which line the whole coast of the bay. This, it is presumed, occurs in this way:

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[1] De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale, vol. i., Lettres 3 and 4. Jeremie, Relation de la Baye d'Hudson; Voyages au Nord, iii.

[2] Jeremie, p. 306, says from the middle of July to middle of October.

[3] Jeremie, Relation de la Baye d'Hudson, p. 306.

[4] De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., i., pp. 61–2.

1682–3. The tide, which comes impetuously from the ocean to enter the bay, is stopped by the ice. This resistance changes its course, and produces counter-currents which cross each other, and, together with the nitre, of which these seas are full, produce a fermentation, which makes the surface of the water boil up. These seas are, I say, full of nitre, and this cannot but be the case, considering the quantity of melted snow and ice which they receive. Moreover, it has been remarked that the plates of lead used to cover the touchhole of the cannon, will be found in the morning covered with nitre, and that when any one is bled on the vessels or in the forts, the opening of the vein is soon all fringed with it.[1] Now it is certain that this abundance of nitre, with the change of climate, the salt food to which they are compelled to resort on these voyages, and the little exercise taken, causes great maladies. Hence it is rare that a vessel does not lose half its crew.

Phenomena in the air.

Another phenomenon which appears in the air would well deserve an investigation into its cause. In the clearest weather there are suddenly seen in the midst of the night clouds of most brilliant white. Even when not a breath of air can be perceived, these clouds are impelled with very great celerity, and assume every kind of shape; the darker the night, the more brilliant the light. It is at times so vivid, that you can read by it more easily than by that of the full moon.

It will, perhaps, be said that this is only a refraction of the rays of the sun, which at this altitude is not far from the horizon during the summer nights, and even while there is no wind in the lower region of the air, there may be in the upper, which is true; but what induces me to think that there must be some other cause for this meteor is that, during winter even, the moon often appears surrounded by rainbows of different colors, and all very bright. For my own part, I am convinced that these effects must be attributed in part to nitrous exhalations, which during the day have been attracted and inflamed by the sun.[1]

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[1] De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale, i., pp. 62, 63. He does not ascribe the nitre to the snow-water, but to caves in the rocks: i., p. 62.

Mode of travelling on the ice.

But would it be believed that on some of these enormous cakes of ice, some of which equal in extent some of the islands in Hudson's Bay, men are found who have embarked on them intentionally? Yet we are assured that Esquimaux have been more than once perceived on them; and it is certain that if on seeing them thus borne about at the sport of the waves and tides on these floating shoals, fears are entertained for them, greater and better founded are felt for those whom they see risking their lives amid this same ice on vessels: for as these savages carry their canoes everywhere with them on the ice, they are never at a loss, come what will, or change as the weather may. If the ice-cakes dash near each other, they spring from one to another without difficulty; if they leave open channels of considerable size, they embark and sail on as long as the ice permits. Should an iceberg approach which they cannot avoid, they leap on it, and the very iceberg which threatened them with destruction shields them from shipwreck. This is not so with those on a vessel. If the ship is caught between two icebergs, the only alternative is to escape to one of them, but then the difficulty is to live on it or leave it. It is easy to conclude that a sea so dangerous in its navigation is not yet well explored. Indeed, except some islands met by the French and English on their passage, and points on the coast where they have had settlements, all the rest has as yet been seen only at a distance.

There is no doubt that among a great number of navi-

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[1] De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale, i., p. 71. His description of the aurora borealis is more accurate than that of Charlevoix. See, too, Voyages au Nord, iii., p. 289.

1682–3. gators of various nations who, towards the close of the sixteenth century and in the course of the seventeenth, undertook to discover a passage to China and Japan north of America, several were aware of this great bay,[1] which communicates with the Christian Sea; but it is certain that it was Henry Hudson, an Englishman, who in 1611 gave his name to the bay and to the strait by which you enter it.[2] Nothing is known of what he did there, nor do we even know whether he penetrated very far into it. The pretended acts of taking possession of the whole country made at various times by Nelson,[3] Thomas Button,[4] and Luxfox,[5] even were they as well attested as they are but indifferently, gave no stronger support to the claims made by that nation to this bay in the time we are treating of than the acts of Verazani, under the reign of Francis I., entitle us to claim Carolina, Virginia, and the other provinces of North America, which are now occupied by the British crown, since it is certain that the English possessed nothing on that bay when, in 1656, the Sieur Bourdon was sent there to secure its possession to France,[6] a ceremony repeatedly renewed in subsequent years.

French and English claims to Hudson's Bay.

It is true that in 1663 two French runaways, named Medard Chouard des Groseilliers and Peter Esprit de Radisson,[7] to revenge some affront that they had received, conducted the English to the River Nemiscau, which empties into the head of the bay, and that the English erected at the mouth of the river a fort which received the name of Fort Rupert; that they subsequently established another among the Monsonis, and then a third at Quitchitchouen. But France and Canada viewed these enterprises as usurpations.

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[1] Cabot entered it in 1517.

[2] Ante, ii., p. 10.

[3] Nelson discovered the river that bears his name, which was called by the Indians Paouirinionagaou, the Descent of the Stranger: Jeremie, Relation de la Baye d'Hudson, p. 320. The French called it Bourbon River.

[4] Sir Thomas Button's voyage is described in Northwest Fox; or, Fox on the Northwest Passage, 4to, London, 1635, pp. 118–19.

[5] Luke Fox. As to this voyage, see Northwest Fox, pp. 169–251.

[6] De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale, i., p. 141. John Bourdon is said to have coasted all along Labrador in a vessel of thirty tons: Ancient Register of the Council of Quebec, cited in N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 304.

[7] Medard Chouart de Groseilliers was a native of Touraine and an experienced pilot. He was an early emigrant to Canada, where he married a daughter of Abraham Martin, king's pilot. He reached James Bay overland from Lake Assiniboin, and, returning, endeavored to induce the Quebec merchants, and subsequently the French court, to send ships to

Two French runaways conduct the English to Hudson's Bay.

Colbert, nevertheless, in view of the close union then existing between the two crowns, deemed it most expedient to dissemble for a time; but, to prevent a title by prescription, Mr. Talon, having formed a design for seeking an easy route to Hudson's Bay by the Saguenay, profited by a new deputation from the Indians of those parts sent down with the object of obtaining missionaries. To accompany them on their return he chose Father Charles Albanel, giving him as associates two Frenchmen, one of whom was the Sieur Denys de St. Simon, a Canadian gentleman, nephew of the Denys whose Memoirs on Acadia have been so frequently cited.[1]

They set out from Quebec August 22, 1671,[2] and on the 17th of September learned that two English vessels had anchored at the head of Hudson's Bay, and were trading with the Indians.[3] This information compelled them to send back to Quebec for passports, which were at once given; but this delay had made them lose the proper season for navigating the river, and they were forced to winter on the shores of Lake St. John. They resumed their march on the 1st of June in the following year, 1672, and on the 13th eighteen canoes full of Mistassin Indians ap-

Father Albanel and Mr. de St. Simon go to Hudson's Bay by the Saguenay.

Hudson's Bay. Failing to induce them, he went to England, and, with Radisson, conducted an English vessel, commanded by Zachariah Gillam, a New Englander, to the bay. Oldmixon, British Empire (i., p. 544), says it was in 1667. Robson's Account of Six Years' Residence in Hudson's Bay, 8vo, London, 1752, Appendix 4, says 1668. As to them, see N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 304, 797; de la Potherie, Hist. de l'Am. Sept., i., pp. 141–2.

[1] Relation de la N. F., 1672–3, p. 42.

[2] August 6: Ib., p. 43.

[3] They were informed by some Attikamegues and some Mistassirini: Ib., p. 44.

1682–3. peared in the attitude of men bent on disputing their passage. Father Albanel advanced alone to address them, and told them that the French having cleared the country of the Iroquois war-parties, it was but just that they should be allowed to pass.

He then exhorted them to resume their old custom of coming to Lake St. John to trade, as they would never fail to find goods there, and would always meet a missionary to instruct them, as had been done in times past, a thing the English did not do. The Mistassin chief thanked the missionary for the peace which the French had secured to them, as well as for the zeal which he displayed for their instruction. He even besought him to remain with them, but Father Albanel told him that for the present indispensable business summoned him elsewhere, and he begged the chief to await his return to Lake St. John.[1]

On the 18th the travellers entered the Lake of the Mistassins, to make the circuit of which requires, it is said, twenty days of good weather;[2] and on the 25th they reached the shores of Lake Nemiscau, which is much smaller.[3] On the 1st of July they repaired to a spot called Miscoutenagechit, where the Indians who had solicited a missionary awaited them, and received them with great demonstrations of joy. Father Albanel perceived, nevertheless, that they were apprehensive that he would oppose their trading with the English, who had advanced there and built a trading-house; but he reassured them, and told them that he had in view only the salvation of their souls, and that the French thought only of securing the tranquillity and safety of the country against the Iroquois.[4]

Fourth taking possession of Hudson's Bay.

Some days after he left that village with his two companions, visited all the country around Lake Nemiscau, and, embarking on the river of the same name,[5] en-

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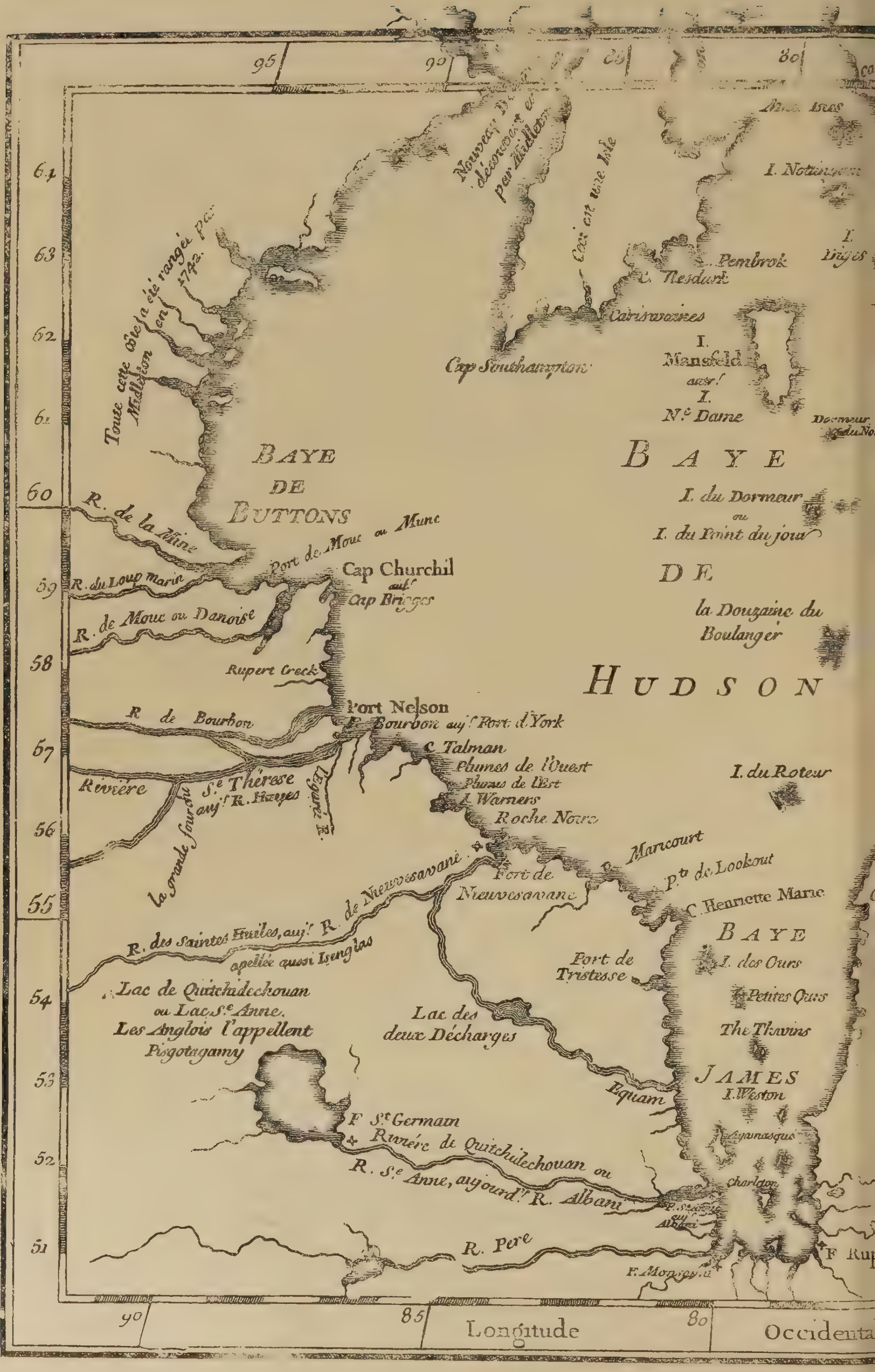
[1] Rel. de la N. F., 1672, pp. 47–8.

[2] Albanel says the lake is so called from its great number of large rocks: Ib., p. 49.

[3] Rel. de la N. F., 1672, p. 49.

[4] Ib., p. 50–1.

[5] Nemiskausipiou: Ib., p. 51.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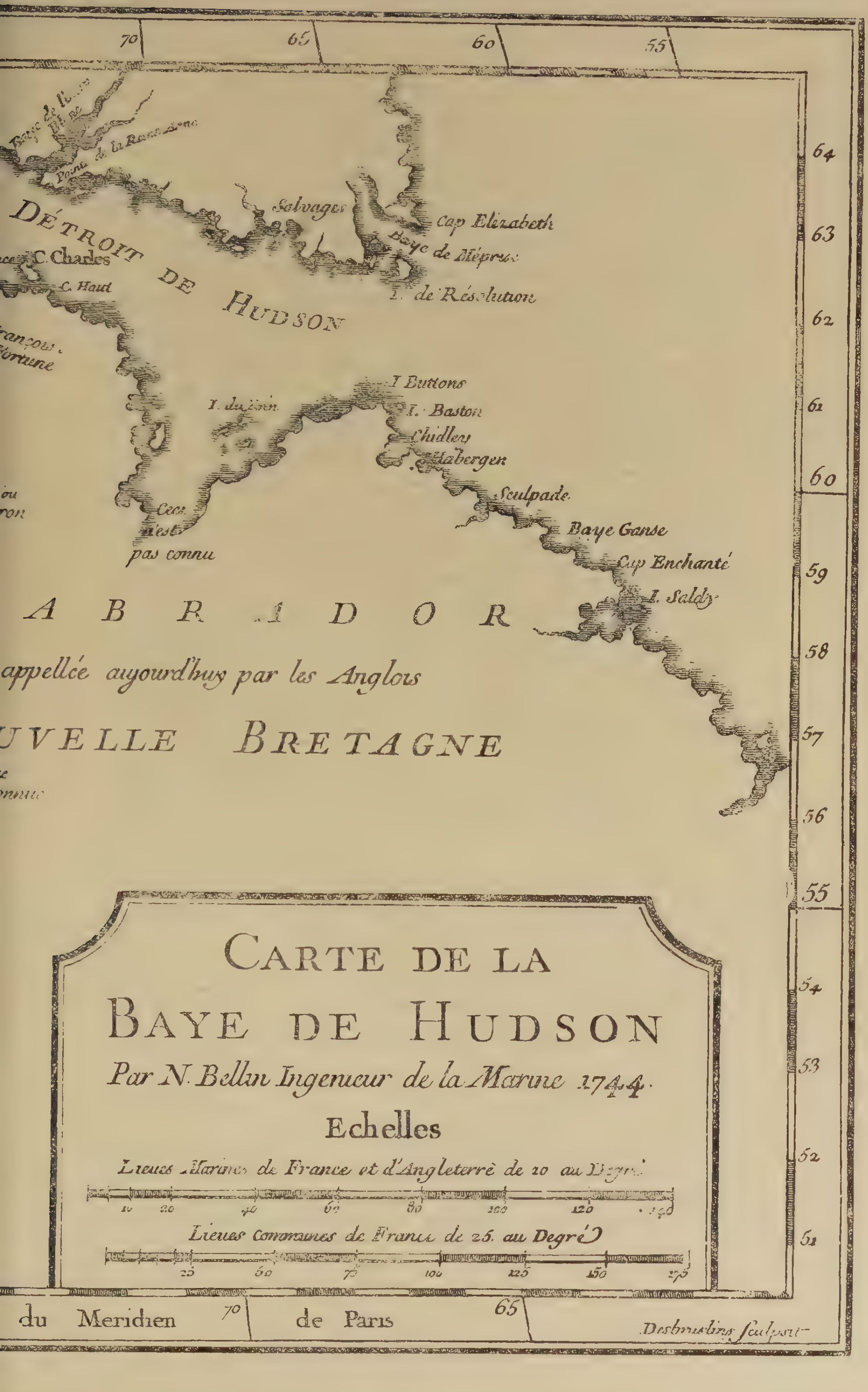
Longitude
Occidenta
Nouveau Dé... découvert per Midleton
Coté est une Isle
I. Nottingam
I. Diges
Pembrok
C. Tesdark
Cariswaines
Cap Southampton
I. Mansfeld auj.t I. N.e Dame
Dormeur du Nord
Toute cette côte a été rangée par Midleton en 1742.
BAYE DE BUTTONS
R. de la Mine
R. du Loup Marin
Port de Moue ou Munc
Cap Churchil auj.t Cap Brigges
R. de Moue ou Danoise
Rupert Creek
R. de Bourbon
Port Nelson
F. Bourbon auj.t Fort d'York
C. Talman
Plumes de l'Ouest
Plumes de l'Est
I. Warners
Roche Noire
Rivière S.te Thérèse auj.t R. Hayes
la grande fourche
l'Egarée R.
BAYE DE HUDSON
I. du Dormeur ou I. du Point du jour
la Douzaine du Boulanger
I. du Roteur
Mancourt
P.te de Lookout
C. Henriette Marie
Fort de Neuvesavane
R. de Neuvesavane
R. des Saintes Huiles, auj.t R. de Neuvesavane apellée aussi Isenglas
Lac de Quitchidechouan ou Lac S.te Anne. Les Anglois l'appellent Pisgotagamy
Lac des deux Décharges
Port de Tristesse
BAYE JAMES
I. des Ours
Petites Ours
The Thwins
I. Weston
Equam
Agamasquis
Charlton
F. S.te Anne auj.t Albani
F S.t Germain
Rivière de Quitchidechouan ou R. S.te Anne, aujourd'.t R. Albani
R. Pere
F. Monsipi
F Rup



CARTE DE LA BAYE DE HUDSON

Par N. Bellin Ingenieur de la Marine 1744.

Echelles

Lieues Marines de France et d'Angleterre de 20 au Degré

Lieues Communes de France de 25. au Degré

tered the bay into which it empties. At several points he made, pursuant to his instructions, acts of taking possession,[1] signed them with the Sieur de St. Simon, and caused them also to be signed by the chiefs of ten or twelve Indian nations, whom he took the precaution to assemble to witness that ceremony.[2] Matters remained, nevertheless, on the same footing with regard to the English for several years, and they enriched themselves while the court of France contented itself with assuring its rights there.

The two French runaways return to Canada.

On the other hand, the two deserters who had led the English to Hudson's Bay, either from some private pique or from a reawakening love for their native land, had returned to France, although Radisson had married the daughter of Sir (David) Kirk, and the French king had permitted them to return to Canada, granting them even favors there that they had not deserved. Some years after a Northern Company was formed at Quebec, which undertook to drive the English from Hudson's Bay. It deemed it impossible to employ in this enterprise persons better qualified to ensure success than the authors of the evil, who now offered their services, and were the only persons acquainted with the country. There was not one but was convinced that they would seize with avidity so favorable an opportunity of repairing their fault, and perhaps avenging their own wrongs.

They undertake to drive the English from the bay.

They set out in 1682, in two ill-fitted vessels,[3] and went straight to the first fort, but found the English so well intrenched that they durst not attack them. They then skirted along the western shore of the bay in search of an advantageous post where they might establish a fur-trade, and on the 26th of August they entered a bay, into

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[1] Rel. de la N. F., 1672, p. 55.

[2] De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale, i., p. 143. Albanel does not state this. He reached Chegoutimi August 1, and embarked on the vessel of Mr. Denis, Captain of Tadoussac: Rel. de la N. F., 1672, p. 55.

[3] They asked permission to go to Hudson's Bay, and when Frontenac refused, they asked to go sealing near Anticosti: Canada Doc., I., iv., p. 218.

1683.

which two large rivers emptied through a common mouth.[1] One is Bourbon River, which has been ascended to quite a distance without discovering its source. A French vessel had wintered there in 1675, and given it the name it bears. Des Groseilliers gave the other the name of Saint Teresa, after his wife, a sister of Radisson.[2] This small bay where the two rivers join, is called by the English Port Nelson, pretending that it had been discovered in 1611 by Nelson, Henry Hudson's pilot.

What occurred between them and the English.

Sieur Jeremie, from whom we have quite a good Relation of Hudson's Bay, where he made a very long stay, and was in command at the time of the treaty of Utrecht, avers that while Radisson and his brother-in-law were wintering in St. Teresa's River, some Englishmen were encamped on the banks of Bourbon River. The French discovered the English before the latter had the slightest suspicion that they had such close neighbors, attacked them when they were intoxicated, and made them all prisoners, to the number of eighty, although the French had with them only twelve men; that they also found quite near them six English sailors abandoned there by a Boston vessel, who were destitute of provisions, and were unaware of the presence of their countrymen on Bourbon River.[3]

But a Memoir which was presented the next year to Mr. de Seignelay,[4] and of which I had the original in my hand, gives quite a different version, and is undoubtedly entitled to greater credit than the narrative of that traveller, otherwise a very judicious man, whose testimony can be depended on when he speaks of facts of which it was in his reach to obtain personal information. According to this Memoir, Radisson and his brother-in-law had scarce begun their establishment on St. Teresa River, when a Boston vessel appeared at the mouth of the river quite near their camp.[1] 1683.

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[1] At River Kakioukiouay (Qui va et vient), Aug. 27: Canada Doc., II., iv., p. 218.

[2] It was at 57° 30′: De la Potherie, i., p. 144.

[3] Des Groseillier's post was on the islands, three leagues up the river. He discovered first the six Boston men whose vessel had been carried off by the ice, and never was heard of. Then, on Epiphany, he captured the London party, which was seven leagues up Bourbon River: Jeremie, Relation de la Baye d'Hudson, pp. 322–3.

[4] Des Groseilliers to Seignelay: Canada Doc., II., iv., p. 176. De Meulles to same: Ib., p. 218.

Some days after a large London ship anchored in the same place, and alarmed the Bostoners,[2] who had no commission, as well as the French, who were not yet sufficiently intrenched to make any defence if attacked, as they would apparently be ; but it soon excited the compassion of both. Great cakes of ice, driven by the tide, struck it so violently that they made it drag its anchors and drift out, where, notwithstanding all the efforts of the crew, it was stove in by other masses of ice.

All on board escaped on the very icebergs which had caused their mishap, and which carried them back to the mouth of St. Teresa River.[3] Then the commandant, who, on his arrival, had summoned the French to withdraw from a country which belonged, he said, to the king his master, asked and without difficulty obtained hospitality. Radisson and des Groseilliers even gave them provisions of which they were in absolute want, and permitted them to throw up huts on the banks of Bourbon River, after requiring a written promise not to fortify their post or do any act that could prejudice the rights of the most Christian king.

This promise was ill kept : the English no sooner reflected on their superiority of numbers than they set to work to intrench themselves ; they then took steps to sur-

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[1] De la Potherie, Hist. de l'Am. Sept., i., p. 144. The whole crew of the Boston craft was ten men.

[2] Bostonnais was used in Canada to mean the British colonists generally in America, and is still so used by old men. The word passed from the Canadians to the Indians. Even the Mohawks called the English settlers near them Wastonronon (Boston people). See Brant's letter, Col. Ulster Hist. Soc. ; Potier, Racines Huronnes. The same expression spread to the northwest coast, and in the Chinook jargon Boston is the term for American. See Gibb's Chinook Jargon.

[3] They escaped in boats : De la Potherie, i., p. 144.

1683. prise the French, and deprive them of all power to injure them; but the French were too quick, and made sure of the English. The Memoir from which I derive these facts does not state in what manner this was done, and it is quite probable that Radisson and des Groseilliers seized some moment when the English were off their guard, or, it may be, intoxicated, as it is stated in Jeremie's Relation.

Be that as it may, so great a number of prisoners soon became a great embarrassment to the French, whose provisions, moreover, began to fail; accordingly, as soon as the season permitted a vessel to put to sea, they embarked a part of the Englishmen on one of the vessels which they had brought from Quebec, and left them at liberty to go where they chose. They then set out themselves, with the rest of the prisoners, on the ship which they had reserved and on the Boston bark, which they seized without much difficulty, and then returned to Quebec,[1] where their manner of proceeding with the English displeased those interested in the Northern Company. They were also annoyed on several points relating to the fur-trade, although they had brought back a heavy cargo of peltries. This all obliged them to return to France, where they hoped to receive greater justice.[2]

They again give up Hudson's Bay to the English.

Whether they were really guilty, or whether the ministry had been prejudiced by their enemies, their hopes were baffled, and the despair which they conceived made them turn to the English a second time. Lord Preston, then embassador from Great Britain to the court of France, learning their discontent, persuaded Radisson to go to London.[3] Radisson followed this advice, was well received by Sir (David ?) Kirke, his father-in-law, who obtained for

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[1] De la Potherie, Hist. de l'Am. Sept., i., pp. 144–5, does not mention the capture of the London party, but merely says that the French gave them a bark and provisions, on which they sailed for the head of the bay. The Boston interloper was carried to Quebec.

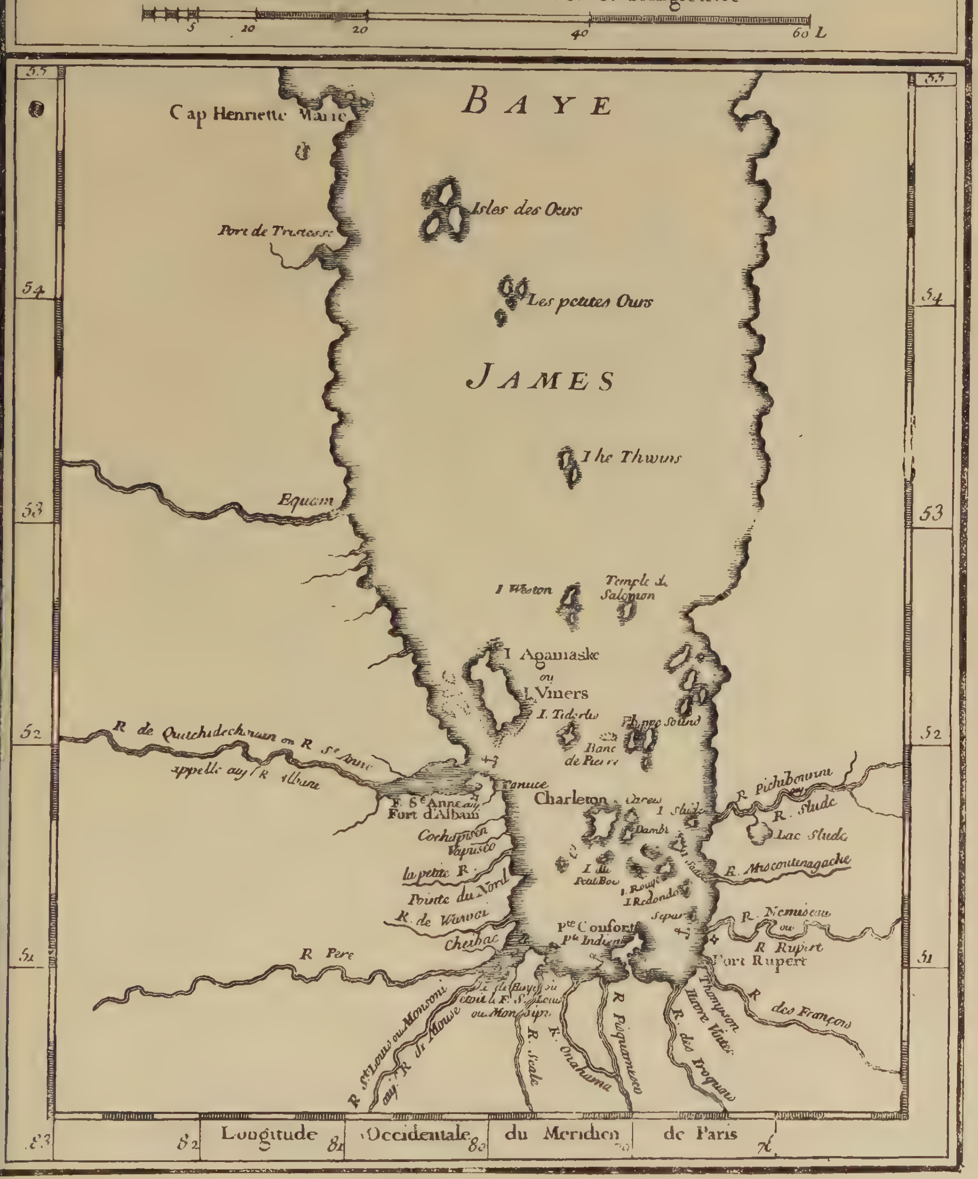
[2] The English vessel is said to have been commanded by Gillam.

[3] De la Potherie, Hist. de l'Am. Sept., i., p. 45.

CARTE DU FONDS DE LA BAYE DE HUDSON

que les Anglois appellent BAYE JAMES. Par N Bellin Ingr de la Marine 1744

Echelle de Lieues Marines de France et d'Angleterre



him from the court a pension of twelve hundred livres, which he enjoyed till his death. The next year, 1685, he was sent with two ships to seize the fort which he had himself erected at the mouth of St. Teresa River, and where Chouart, his nephew, son of des Groseilliers, had remained with only eight men. On arriving in sight of the fort, and making the signals agreed upon between the young commander and his father and uncle, he was at once received.[1] 1683.

According to another Memoir, it was the elder des Groseilliers who remained at Hudson's Bay; for the author pretends that Radisson and young Chouard negotiated with Lord Preston through one Gods.[2] Nevertheless, I find in a letter of the king to the Marquis de Denonville, that that general had orders to assure young Chouard that he should be rewarded, and to promise fifty pistoles to any one who should seize Radisson and deliver him to the officers of his majesty. It is, moreover, certain that Chouard died in Canada and Radisson in England. According to the Memoir just cited, it was at this time that the English gave the name of Port Nelson to the mouth of St. Teresa River.

The loss experienced by the French on this occasion forms a basis for judging of the importance of this post to trade, for it was estimated at thirty-two thousand beavers, six bales of martin, two of otter, and other inferior peltries, the whole valued at 400,000 livres.[3] And yet this was the proceeds of only one year's trade, for Radisson had taken to Quebec all that was in the stores when he set out from the Bay. We shall see the measures adopted by the Northern Company to obtain redress for this perfidy, after relating what occurred in the colony during that interval.

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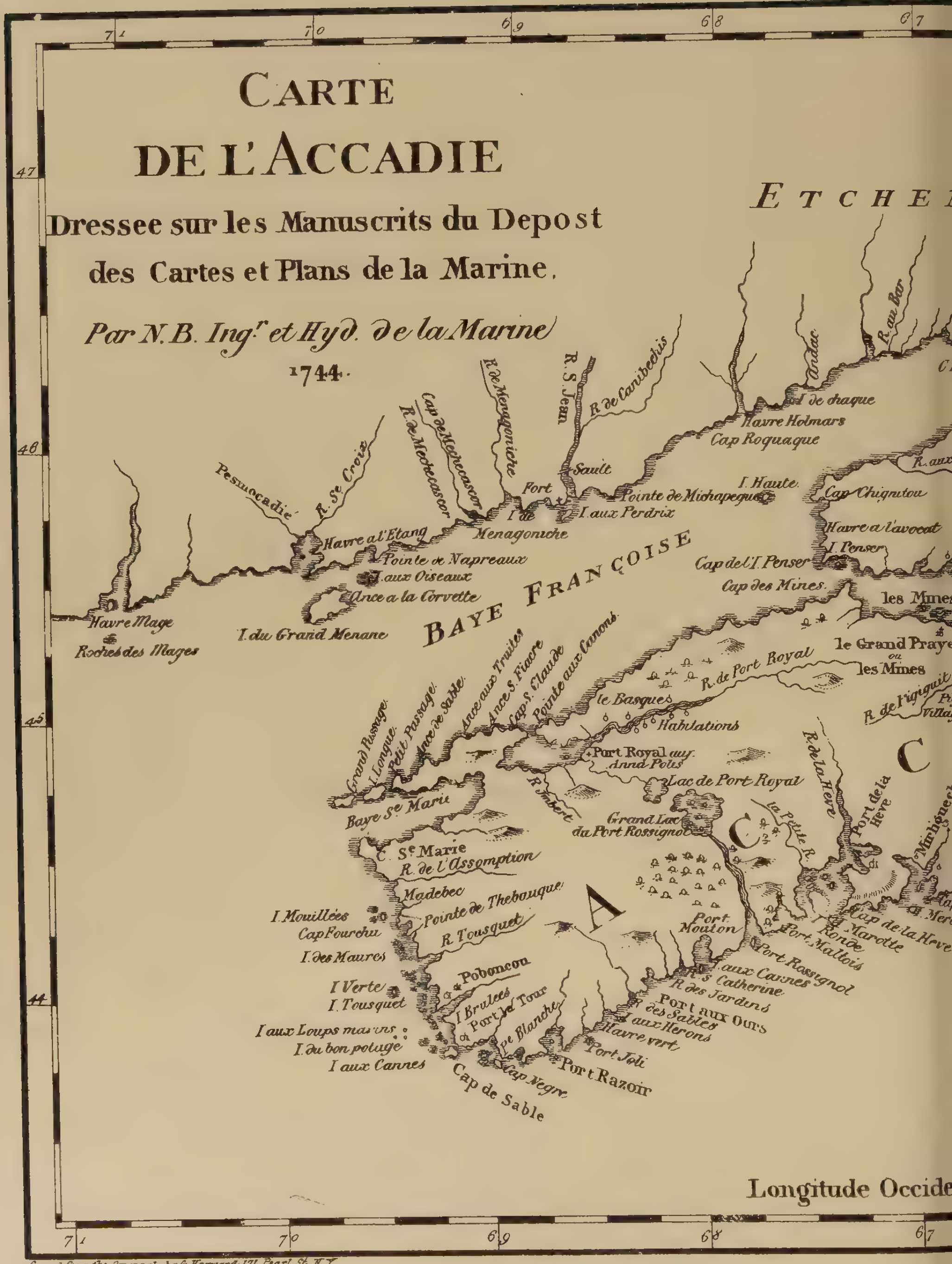
[1] Jeremie, Relation de la Baye d'Hudson, p. 324.

[2] Godet: De la Potherie, i., p. 145.

[3] De la Potherie, Hist. de l'Am. Sept., i., p. 147, says 300,000.

BOOK XI.



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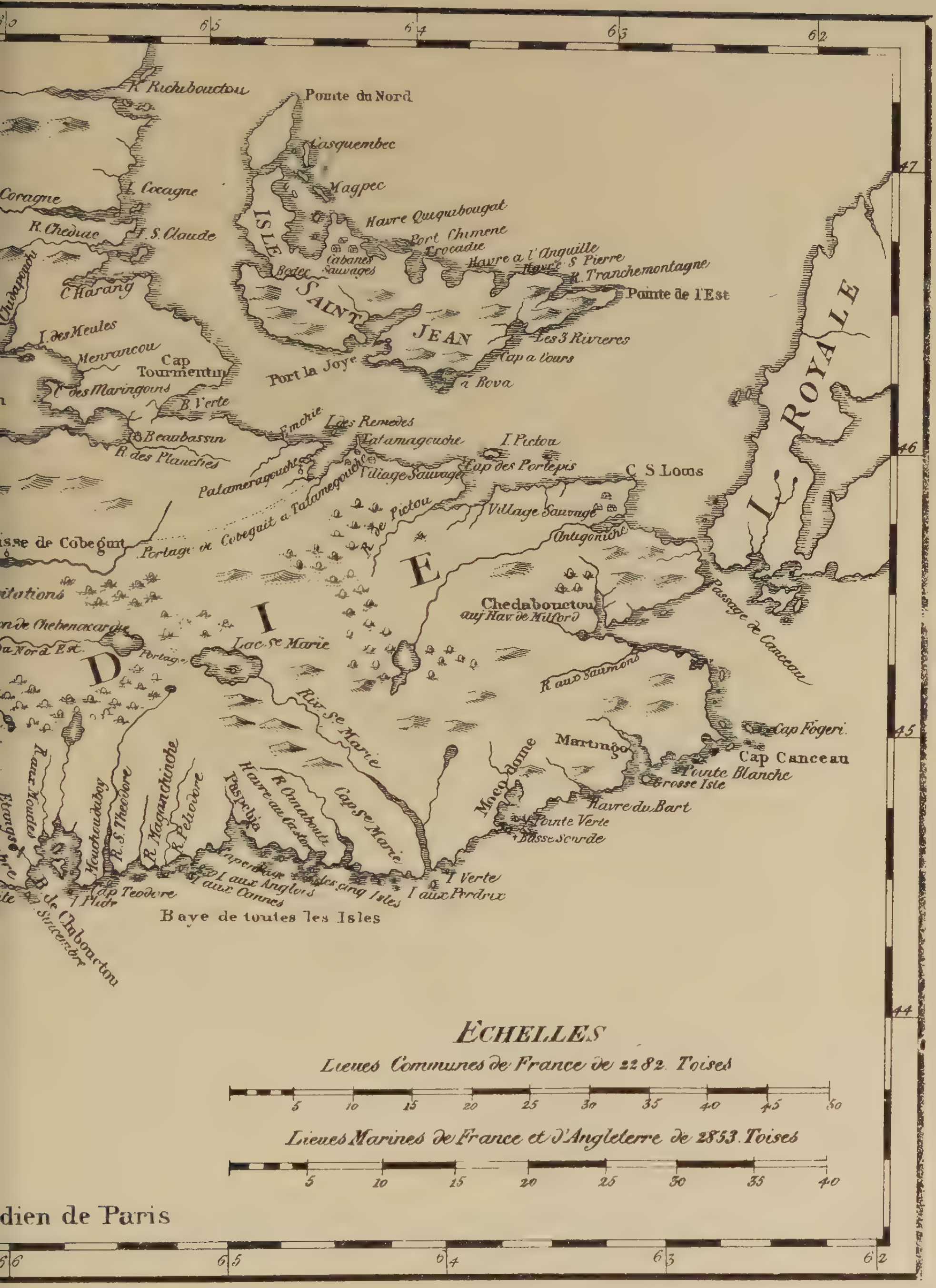
65
64
63
62
R. Richibouctou
Pointe du Nord
Casquembec
Magpec
Coragne
I. Cocagne
Havre Quiquibougat
R. Chediac
I. S. Claude
Port Chimene
Trocadie
Cabanes Sauvages
Havre a l'Anguille
Havre S. Pierre
R. Tranchemontagne
Pointe de l'Est
ISLE SAINT JEAN
Bedec
C. Harang
I. des Meules
Menrancou
Cap Tourmentin
Port la Joye
Les 3 Rivieres
Cap a l'ours
a Bova
C. des Maringouins
B. Verte
Emchie
I. des Remedes
Tatamagouche
I. Pictou
Beaubassin
R. des Planches
Patameragouche
Village Sauvage
Cap des Portepis
C. S. Louis
Village Sauvage
R. de Pictou
Portage de Cobeguit a Tatamegouche
isse de Cobeguit
Antigoniche
L. ROYALE
itations
on de Chebenacardie
a Nord Est
Portage
Lac Ste Marie
D I E
Chedabouctou
ou Hav. de Milford
Passage de Canceau
R. aux Saumons
Riv. Ste Marie
Cap Fogeri
Cap Canceau
Martingo
Pointe Blanche
Grosse Isle
Mocodome
Havre du Bart
Pointe Verte
Basse Sourde
R. aux Moules
Etangs
Mouchoudabog
R. S. Theodore
R. Maganchinche
R. Peliodore
Paspebiac
Havre au Castor
R. Ounabouts
Cap Ste Marie
I. Verte
I. aux Perdrix
les cinq Isles
I. aux Anglois
I. aux Cannes
Cap Teodore
I. Plidr
B. de Chibouctou
Baye de toutes les Isles
47
46
45
44
ECHELLES
Lieues Communes de France de 2282. Toises
5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40 45 50
Lieues Marines de France et d'Angleterre de 2853. Toises
5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40
dien de Paris
56
65
64
63
62

BOOK XI.

1683.

Monsieur de la Barre was preparing for a war against the Iroquois, yet without having lost all hope of making terms with those savages, and still disposed to treat with them when he could do so with honor. Accordingly, having been informed that they were on the point of marching, to the number of 1500 men, against the Miamis and Ottawas, although they had given out that they were going to attack the Illinois only, he sent them a confidential agent,[1] who reached the great village of the Onondagas, the rendezvous of the braves, on the very eve of the day when they were to take the field.

Bad faith of the Iroquois

This envoy was quite well received, and without much difficulty drew from the Iroquois a promise to suspend the expedition and send deputies to Montreal to treat with the general there; but it was soon perceived that this declaration was made simply to lull the French. They had declared that their deputies should be in Montreal before the end of June, and yet in May Mr. de la Barre received intelligence that seven or eight hundred men from the cantons of Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca were on the march to attack the Hurons, Miamis, and Ottawas; and that the Senecas, with some Cayugas, were, towards the end of summer, to scatter in bands through our settlements.[2]

Mr de la Barre solicits aid from the king.

The general, in forwarding this information to the minister, advised him that this project had been formed at the instigation of the English, who employed in these ne-

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[1] Le Moyne: De la Barre to Seignelay, Nov. 4, 1683; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 202.

[2] De la Barre to Seignelay, May 30, 1683; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 197.

1683. gotiations French runaways, whose desertion they encouraged, and whom they then sold as servants to the planters in Jamaica; that, so far as he could judge of the actual disposition of the Iroquois cantons, the French must resolve absolutely to abandon Canada or make an effort to destroy at least the Senecas and Cayugas, the most bitter of all against the French, and who could easily put 2,000 men in the field; that he begged him, therefore, to induce the king to send him soon four hundred men, so that early in August, at the latest, he might enter the enemy's country with sufficient troops to bring those savages to reason; but that he deemed it necessary, before all else, to obtain from the Duke of York, to whom New York belonged, an order directing the governor of that province not to thwart him in his expedition.[1]

Pride of the Iroquois. Intrigues of the governor of New York.

Some time after the vessel sailed which bore this letter, the governor-general deemed it proper to make another attempt with the cantons. He sent to ask at what time they expected that their deputies would come to Montreal to keep the promise they had given. They replied that they did not recollect having made him any promise, and that if he had any thing to impart to them, he could come to them for the purpose.[2] He at the same time received certain proof that the English of New York, to whom the Iroquois trade had for some years brought considerable profit, had given these Indians goods at a loss, with a view of rendering us odious to that nation, by persuading them that the French had no object but plundering them; that they stimulated them unceasingly to exterminate all the tribes with whom we traded, and that in the cantons all was preparing for waging an irreconcilable war upon us.

In reality the Iroquois found it much more advantageous to trade with the English and Dutch than with the French, beaver paying no duty in New York, and trade being open to private individuals. There was, consequently, more profit to be made by purchasers, and this enabled them to afford their goods cheaper. Still, as the cantons did not wish to employ open force till extremities, and really dreaded the French more than they cared to show, deputies from the Five Nations arrived in the month of August at Montreal; but they were authorized only to make vague protestations of sincere attachment, and nothing more could be drawn from them.[1]

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[1] De la Barre to Seignelay; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 197; Canada Doc., II., iv., p. 264, etc.

[2] Le Moyne was sent, and returned July 20, with thirteen Senecas, and a promise that deputies from the other cantons would come in August: De la Barre to Seignelay, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 203.

Strange conduct of Mr. de la Barre.

Many circumstances concurred to throw suspicion on this embassy, and the least clear-sighted were convinced that the cantons simply wished to gain time, in order to throw the general off his guard. In fact, they no longer concealed their design of making war on our allies. It was known, moreover, that one of their parties had approached Fort Catarocouy with the intention of surprising the garrison and intrenching themselves in that post. In fine, the missionaries who were among those Indians, and all who were best acquainted with the character of the nation, warned de la Barre to beware of them; but he disregarded alike the advice of the one and the remonstrance of the other; he received the Iroquois deputies very cordially, showed them much kindness, and sent them back loaded with presents.[2]

He sank still lower in the estimation of many on his seizing Fort Catarocouy, which belonged to Mr. de la Sale or his creditors, as well as Fort St. Louis, in the Illinois country, to which he sent Mr. de Baugy, lieutenant of his guard, to command in his name.[3] To crown his [4]misfor-

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[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 218. See la Hontan, Voyages, i., p. 69.

[2] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 203.

[3] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 203, 211; la Salle's protest, ib., pp. 214–5; Tonty, Louisiana Hist. Col., i., p. 66.

[4] See the judgment formed of de la Barre by de Meulles, the intendant: N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 228. The intendant (Belmont, Histoire du Canada, p. 17) says that the war was provoked by the avarice of the traders.

1683. tunes, he was deceived by the Iroquois; and those who showed him most forbearance, said openly that his advanced age rendered him credulous when he should distrust, timid when he should show energy, sensitive and distrustful of those who deserved his confidence, and deprived him of the vigor necessary for acting as became him in the crisis in which the colony was placed.

1684. The Iroquois plunder French voyageurs.

Be that as it may, at the very time that he relied with most assurance on the protestations of the Iroquois, an army of those Indians took the field to capture Fort St. Louis. On their way they met fourteen Frenchmen who were going to trade with the Illinois, and were travelling without mistrusting any thing. These the Indians attacked and defeated, plundering them of fifteen thousand francs, worth of goods.[1] In the sequel, they gave as an excuse that they took these traders for some of Mr. de la Sale's people, whom Mr. de la Barre had permitted them to plunder, a statement not entirely destitute of foundation.[2] This occurred on the last day of February, 1684. The Iroquois pursued their route towards Illinois River, and appeared in view of Fort St. Louis, where they supposed themselves entirely unexpected.[3]

They are repulsed at Fort St. Louis.

They were mistaken. The Sieur de Baugy and the Chevalier de Tonti had been warned of their march, and were ready to receive them. This the Iroquois discovered on their first attack, in which several were killed, and on the 28th of March they retired.[4] Mr. de la Durantaye, a Breton gentleman, formerly a captain in the Carignan regi-

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[1] De la Barre to Dongan, June 15, 1684, N. Y. Doc. Hist., i., pp. 67, 70; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 232; de la Barre's Memoir, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 239; Belmont, Histoire du Canada, p. 16; Colden, History of the Two Nations, p. 73, represent it as a seizure of arms and ammunition which they were carrying to the enemies of the Iroquois.

[2] La Salle's Remonstrance, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 215.

[3] They appeared March 21: Tonty in Margry, p. 22; Louisiana Hist. Col., i., p. 66.

[4] They kept up the siege six days: Ib.; de la Barre's Memoir, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 239; Canada Doc., II., iv., p. 251.

1684.

ment, had marched from Michillimakinac to the relief of Fort St. Louis on the first rumor of the approach of the Iroquois; but he apparently heard on the way that the siege had been raised, and at once returned to his post,[1] whence we shall soon see him set out on a more important expedition.

Mr. de la Barre resolves on war.

Meanwhile, Mr. de la Barre recovered at last, though somewhat late, from his lethargy, and now thought only of carrying on the war.[2] What tended most to arouse him was the information he received that all the cantons were making great preparations, and had sent embassadors to the Indians of Virginia to assure them that they should not be attacked while they were engaged with us. This resolution adopted, the general deemed it more easy and less dangerous to anticipate these Indians by carrying the war into their country, than to drive them from the colony if they once set foot there. But as the reinforcements which he had received from France were very insignificant, and what he could still hope for would not arrive in time, he was obliged to have recourse to his Indian allies.

Mr. de la Durantaye, who commanded at Michillimakinac, and Mr. du Luth, his lieutenant, who was at the bay,[3] received orders to notify the nations in those parts that Onontbio was about to march to destroy the Iroquois; that he wished to begin with the Senecas, and that he invited them to join him at Niagara, whither he would proceed with all his forces about the fifteenth of August. Most of these tribes were not less interested than the French in the destruction of the Iroquois, who seemed to

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[1] He kept on to Fort St. Louis with sixty men and Father Allouez: Tonty, Memoir in Margry, p. 22; Louisiana Hist. Col., i., p. 66.

[2] De Meulles ascribed the declaration of war solely to la Chenaye and other merchants: Dispatch (N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 230; Perrot, Mœurs et Coustumes, p. 32) to the merchants and some of the clergy.

[3] Green Bay. He avoids the name Baie des Puants. Du Luth was at Kamalastigouia, or Fond du Lac: Perrot, Mœurs et Coustumes, p. 132.

1684. aspire to exercise a kind of domination over the whole of this great continent, and make themselves sole masters of the trade: nevertheless, de la Durantaye and du Luth had much difficulty in raising the forces according to their orders.[1]

He with difficulty induces our allies to join him.

Those in the neighborhood of the bay showed the greatest reluctance, and this should have been foreseen.[2] There had been very exciting difficulties between them and the French, because Mr. de la Sale, to prevent any one trading in the parts reserved to him, had ordered the Indians to plunder the goods of any one who had no commission from him; and this order, which should never have been given to these barbarians, had well-nigh enkindled a bloody war between them and us. Minds were still somewhat excited on both sides, and the moment was by no means favorable for inducing these western tribes to join their forces to ours against the common enemy.

Fortunately, Nicholas Perrot, who was not far off, came to the aid of the Sieur du Luth. He showed the Indians that they were far more interested than the French in exterminating a nation which wished to give the law to all others, and from whom, after all, we had nothing to fear for ourselves.[3] Thus Mr. de la Durantaye soon found himself at the head of five hundred warriors, Hurons, Ottawas, Foxes, and other Bay tribes, and of two hundred Canadians; but the assembling of this force was not all, the commander had no little to do to succeed in marching these auxiliary forces to Niagara.

Most of these Indians, I know not how, got it into their heads that Mr. de la Barre's expedition would be unsuccessful, and various accidents which happened during the march had completely disconcerted them,[1] so that they were a hundred times on the point of disbanding. It was still worse when they reached Niagara and failed to find the general or any Frenchmen there.

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[1] De Meulles to Seignelay, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 231; de la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique, ii., p. 179; Perrot, Mœurs et Coustumes, p. 133.

[2] The Hurons received the hatchet, but the Ottawas, Kikapoos, and Sinagos, with the Green Bay tribes, refused it: Perrot, p. 133.

[3] Perrot, Mœurs et Coustumes, p. 133.

These Indians do not meet Mr. de la Barre at the rendezvous, which he failed to keep.

Then they complained bitterly that they had been drawn from their country only to be delivered up to the Iroquois, and there was every reason to apprehend that they would adopt some prejudicial course.[2]

Their commanders, themselves unaware of the cause of this delay, wished at first to ascribe it to the head-winds which had for some time prevailed on Lake Ontario; but this resource was soon exhausted, and the intelligence, which they received a few days after, that peace had been made with the Iroquois, completely disconcerted them. They could not avoid imparting this information to the Indians, and they had everything to fear from their resentment. They escaped, however, with some reproaches, which the Indians made with a calmness that betokened far deeper resentment than if they had spoken with impetuosity.[3]

Their dissatisfaction at the tidings of peace.

The chiefs told them that it was not the first time that they perceived that their interest did not enter into the enterprises of the French, except so far as we found it to our own advantage; but that they would no longer be dupes; that Onontio would never in future draw them from their homes but when it became them, and that they would leave him to settle his differences with the Iroquois, against whom they could defend themselves well enough, without his aid, whenever attacked.

La Durantaye, du Luth, and Perrot omitted no means to appease them, and flattered themselves that they had succeeded, by persuading them that they had not been

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[1] Perrot, Mœurs et Coustumes, p. 134; de la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., ii., p. 158, etc.

[2] Perrot, Mœurs et Coustumes, p. 136; De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale, ii., p. 161.

[3] De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale, ii., p. 153; Perrot, Mœurs et Coustumes, p. 137.

1684. forgotten in the treaty of peace just concluded; that this peace was in part their work, since it was only the fear of having all these nations upon them that could have brought the Iroquois to terms; and that they should be well satisfied that it had cost them so little to restore tranquillity throughout the whole land. These reasons seemed to satisfy them, and they returned home quite tranquilly.[1]

Mr. de la Barre treats with the governor of New York.

But matters had passed far less honorably for Mr. de la Barre than these officers made a show of believing. That general, having made his preparations, set out from Quebec for Montreal, where the troops had orders to assemble. While on his march he dispatched Sieur Bourdon to Colonel Dongan, governor of New York, to inform him that if he wished to avenge the blood of twenty-six Englishmen massacred in Maryland the previous winter by the Senecas, he might join him; but that at least he reckoned enough on the promises made him in consequence of the orders from the Duke of York, to feel sure that he would in no way traverse an expedition so just as that he had now undertaken; that it aimed to repress an insolent nation who would not spare the English if they could succeed in having nothing further to fear from the French.[2]

This step was not generally approved, many fearing that this negotiation would give the Iroquois all the time to fortify their towns, and enable the English, whose disposition was not doubtful, to find means of succoring these Indians; but there was apparently in this fear some prejudice and ill-humor, and we shall see in fact that nothing contributed more to bring the Iroquois to terms than this conduct of Mr. de la Barre. But it is unfortunate for a man in an exalted position to have made personal enemies by ways that can be suspected of having any object but the public good, and of not knowing how to command esteem.

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[1] Perrot, Mœurs et Coust., p. 138.

[2] De la Barre's Memoir, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 240; de Meulles, ib., p. 246. De la Barre to Dongan, June 15, 1684, does not allude to Maryland; the letter of July 24 does: N. Y. Doc. Hist., i., pp. 67, 69. This embassy of Bourdon in June was followed in July by one of the Sieur de Salvaye, whose instructions are in N. Y. Doc. Hist., i., p. 70; N. Y. Col. Doc., iii., p. 450, with Dongan's reply, ib., p. 71. The reply of the Senecas to Dongan in Salvaye's presence is in Colden, Hist. Five Nations, p. 74.

His preparations.

The general took another precaution which should naturally have secured success to his enterprise. This was to divide the cantons, so as not to have all to deal with at the same time. For this purpose he sent belts to the Onondagas, Mohawks, and Oneidas, to induce them to remain neutral between him and the Senecas, who had offended, and whom alone he proposed to attack.[1] He then dispatched the Sieur du Tast, Captain, with fifty-six[2] picked men, to convoy a large quantity of provisions and ammunition to Catarocouy, and guard that post, Mr. d'Orvilliers, who commanded these, having received orders early in the spring to make a reconnoissance of the enemy's territory, and select the most suitable place for a landing.

The French army.

D'Orvilliers discharged his commission most satisfactorily. He was, indeed, one of the officers of the colony on whose prudence, genius, and firmness the governors-general of New France placed the greatest reliance, as long as they possessed him. All being thus arranged, the army received orders to march. It was composed of seven hundred Canadians, one hundred and thirty soldiers, and two hundred Indians, chiefly Iroquois from Sault St. Louis and Hurons from Lorette.[3] It was divided into three corps, and the general left Quebec on the 9th of July[4] at the head of the first, having with him the Baron de Bekancourt and his brother, the Chevalier de Villebon.[5]

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[1] De la Barre's Memoir, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 239. He also seized Teganeout and twelve others who came to ratify the peace: Ib., N. Y. Doc. Hist., i., p. 72.

[2] De la Barre's Memoir, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 240, says five or six.

[3] See Return of the troops, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 234: Dutast with 136; Dugué, van, 205; Villebon, reserve, 227; D'Orvilliers, rear, 214; total, 782. De Meulles says, loosely, 900 French, 300 Indians: Ib., p. 245.

[4] De la Barre's Memoir, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 240, although de Meulles to Seignelay, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 232, says 10, with 200 men.

[5] The Baron de Bekancourt is not mentioned in the return of troops.

1684.

Information received by Mr. de la Barre on the march.

He reached Montreal on the 21st, and a few days later the other two corps joined him under the command of Messieurs d'Orvilliers and du Gué. All the troops embarked on the 26th or 27th, and on the 1st of August Mr. de la Barre learned, by channels that could not be suspected, that the cantons of Onondaga, Oneida, and Cayuga had obliged that of Seneca to accept them as mediators between it and the French, and asked the Sieur le Moyne to negotiate this important affair.[1]

The general at the same time received a letter from Onondaga, written by a very trustworthy person, which informed him that his proposed campaign against the Senecas would not cause them any great injury, however successful it might be, inasmuch as these Indians had retired to a place of safety with all their stores, and that his campaign would have no effect except to unite the whole nation against us;[2] but that if he would be contented with satisfaction on the part of that canton, they would be found disposed to make it, the sachems having secretly informed the writer that if the French general was willing to forget the past they would do more even than should be required of them, and would refrain from all hostilities against our allies;[3] that, however, if they made these advances, it was not that they deemed they had any thing to fear, inasmuch as the governor of New York had offered them four hundred horses and as many foot soldiers, if they wished to sustain the war.[4]

Yet there is no reason to doubt that if Colonel Dongan had kept to his offer it would have been accepted, and that Mr. de la Barre would have found himself in a very great embarrassment; but Dongan wished the Senecas to

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[1] The younger Lamberville, from Onondaga, and Milet, from Oneida, joined him August 1: N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 241.

[2] See Father John de Lamberville's Letters, July 10–11, ib., pp. 252–3.

[3] Letter, July 18, 1684, ib., p. 255.

[4] There is nothing of this in de Lamberville's letter, but de la Barre so asserts in his dispatch to the king, Nov. 13, 1684: N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 243, 251.

An unlucky manœuvre of Colonel Dongan saves the colony.

pay too high a price for the aid he offered, and he assumed too high a tone with a haughty tribe that never has loved or esteemed the English. This governor had begun by setting up the arms of the Duke of York throughout the whole Iroquois country.[1] He then sent to forbid the cantons, in that prince's name, styling him their sovereign, to negotiate with the French without his intervention. Finally, he dispatched to Onondaga a man named Arnaud,[2] with orders to propose to that canton, and through it to the other four, to profit by the aid which he was perfectly willing to give them, in order, once for all, to free themselves from the tyranny of the French.

This commission, imprudently given, was executed as badly. Arnaud addressed the Onondagas as a master, and asked them whether they would not obey the governor of the province, who represented the Duke of York, their legitimate prince? This exordium shocked the Onondagas: one of their chiefs at once called heaven to witness the insult offered to the whole nation, as well as the misconduct of the English envoy, who wished to trouble the land. He then addressed Arnaud in a tone which should have made him sensible of his imprudence, and of the indignation it had awakened in his auditors:

"Learn," he said, "that the Onondaga places himself between Onontbio, his father, and the Seneca, his brother, to prevent their fighting. I would have supposed that Corlar[3] would have taken his position behind me, and exclaimed: 'Courage, Onondaga! do not suffer the father and the son to kill each other.' I am greatly surprised that his envoy should address me language just the reverse, and oppose my restraining the arm of both. Ar-

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[1] De la Barre to the king, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 251; John de Lamberville to de la Barre, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 267; Dongan to Blaythwait, N. Y. Col. Doc., iii., p. 363.

[2] Arnold Cornelisen Viele, of Albany, a well known interpreter: O'Callaghan, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 251.

[3] I have already said that the Indians thus style the governor of New York. *Charlevoix.* See ante, vol. ii., p. 124.

1684. naud, I cannot believe that Corlâr's mind is so ill made as you say. Onontio does me great honor by being willing to labor for peace in my cabin: would you have the son dishonor the father? Corlar, hear my voice! Onontio has adopted me as his son: at Montreal he treated and attired me as such. We there planted the tree of peace, and have also planted it at Onondaga, whither my father ordinarily sends his embassadors, because the Seneca has no sense. His predecessors pursued the same conduct, and all profited by it. I have two arms: I stretch one over Montreal to uphold the tree of peace; the other is on the head of Corlar, who has long been my brother. Onontio has for ten years been my father. Corlar has long been my brother, and this because I so chose. Neither is my master. He who made the world gave me the land that I occupy: I am free. I respect both; but no one has a right to command me, and no one must find it amiss that I resort to everything to prevent the land from being troubled. Nor can I longer delay proceeding to my father, since he has taken the pains to come to my very door, and has reasonable propositions to make me."[1]

From this discourse it seems that the Sieur le Moyne had reached that canton before the envoy of the governor of New York. It is certain at least that he was very well received there, both because he was personally loved and because he brought back a Seneca who had long been a prisoner at Quebec, and whom Mr. de la Barre placed in the hands of the Onondagas to show them what unbounded confidence he placed in them. On the 27th of August some of the sons of the Sieur le Moyne, who had accompanied their father to Onondaga, reached La Galette, from which point they proceeded to the governor-general, and informed him what had occurred between Arnaud and the Onondagas, as well as the disposition of the latter in regard to peace. He added that these Indians had induced Father de Lamberville, who was much respected in that canton, to write to the governor of New York, in order to inform him of his envoy's conduct, lest the report of that officer should be an unfaithful one.

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[1] De la Barre (N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 242) gives this in substance, but I do not find the address as here given. Colden gives a report of it, Hist. Five Nations (1728), p. 79.

Extremity in which Mr. de la Barre finds himself.

This information was highly gratifying to Mr. de la Barre, because sickness, caused by the want or bad quality of the provisions, had reduced his little army to the most wretched state. The evil increased even to such a degree, that there was every reason to fear that he would be obliged to retire without awaiting the Iroquois delegates, a step that would undoubtedly have exposed the nation to the jeers of the Indians, and perhaps even have induced the Onondagas to change their system. Mr. de Meules, intendant of New France, informed the minister that the army would not have run out of provisions had they not uselessly lost ten or twelve days at Montreal, and two entire weeks at Catarocouy. He adds that the whole colony murmured aloud at the general's conduct.[1]

He makes peace on dishonorable conditions.

It cannot, in fact, be denied that there was room for censure in the steps taken by Mr. de la Barre to make war with dignity, and still more in the manner in which peace was concluded. To bring the Iroquois to it, not only was an eagerness displayed which these Indians perceived but too soon, but he suffered them to put it at the very highest price, and give us in every respect the law. It is true that the condition in which the deputies from the cantons found our army gave them to understand at once that we were not in a condition to inflict great injury on the Senecas; but it was not difficult to persuade them that we were not reduced to what they beheld, and this should have been done. They found Mr. de la Barre encamped on the shore of Lake Ontario, four or five leagues from the mouth of the river towards Montreal, in a bay to which the extreme

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[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 242–5.

1684. scarcity which his army had endured for a fortnight, gave the name of *La Famine.*[1]

Garakonthié and Oureouati, the two leading chiefs of the deputation,[2] spoke quite well,[3] and had they been alone all would have gone off to the satisfaction of the French general; but the Seneca deputy made an address full of arrogance, and on the proposition made him to leave the Illinois quiet, he replied that he would not let them go till one of the two sides had entirely destroyed the other.[4] This insolence shocked the whole army extremely; but they were still more surprised to see Mr. de la Barre content himself with replying that they must at least beware lest, in endeavoring to strike the Illinois, their hatchet should fall on the French who dwelt among them. This he promised, and peace was concluded on this single condition. The deputies from Onondaga made themselves security that the Senecas should repair the injury which their warriors had done the French, whom they had plundered while on their way to attack the Illinois; but they exacted from the general that his army should decamp the next day; and he himself immediately set out, after giving his orders to carry out this last article.[5]

The king sends troops to Canada.

The court had not anticipated such a speedy conclusion to the war, still less one so dishonorable to the nation. Mr. de la Barre had scarcely reached Quebec when he received a reinforcement of troops which would have put him in a condition to dictate terms to those from whom he had just received them. These troops were commanded by Messieurs de Montortier and Desnos, captains of ships of the line, to whom some Memoirs add a third, namely, Mr. du Rivau,[1] but the king's letter which they handed to the governor-general does not mention him. 1684.

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[1] The name seems to have been previously given: N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 242. Colden, Five Nations (ed. 1728), p. 79, says that Kaihohage, as he calls it, was ten leagues from Onondaga. La Hontan, i., p. 46, says eighteen leagues. It is said to be Salmon River, Oswego County.

[2] There were nine Onondagas, three Oneidas, two Cayugas. Teganneout, the Seneca, was present.

[3] Outreouati, called by the French Grande Gueule, or Big Throat, was the only speaker mentioned. See his address, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 246. La Hontan, finding Grande Gueule not high-sounding, made it into an Indian name, Grangula, and dressed up his discourse accordingly: Voyages, i., p. 51. Colden, History Five Nations (1727), p. 85, and Smith, History of New York (1757), p. 46, adopt his version, giving the name as Garangula, or Garrangula.

[4] Teganneout does not appear to have spoken.

[5] De la Barre's Mem., N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 243; N. Y. Doc. Hist., i., p. 76.

This letter expressed that it was his majesty's intention that Messrs. de Montortier and Desnos should command in the most advanced and important posts of the colony; and it seemed, even, from the terms of the letter, that their authority there was to be independent of Mr. de la Barre. This gave that general's enemies occasion to say that these two officers were surveillants whom the king had sent to scrutinize his conduct; but it is much more natural to believe that his majesty, deeming Mr. de la Barre engaged in a difficult war, and convinced that his advanced age did not allow him to proceed easily to every place where the presence of a chief officer would be necessary, had sent them to him as men to whom he could transfer many of his cares.

This letter is dated August 5th. In another, dated on the last day of July, the king says to de la Barre: "As it benefits my service to reduce the Iroquois in number as much as possible, and as, too, these savages, who are very strong and robust, will serve usefully in my galleys, it is my will that you do everything in your power to make a great number of them prisoners of war and ship them to France."[2] It was too late to think of fulfilling this order when Mr. de la Barre received it. I do not know whether in the sequel the order was repeated to his successor, or served as a rule for him, when the war was renewed with

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[1] La Hontan, Voyages, i., p. 57, mentions the three as arriving at Quebec to pass the winter and serve as counsellors to de la Barre; and that the third brought a free company, which he commanded in person. He mentions their examining posts, p. 62, and return, p. 68. Hénault des Rivaux is mentioned by Belmont, Histoire du Canada, p. 17, as governor of Montreal in 1684.

[2] N. Y. Colonial Documents, ix., p. 233.

1684. the Iroquois.[1] We shall see in due time its pernicious effects when obeyed.

Mr. de Callieres is appointed governor of Montreal, and Mr. Perrot is transferred to the governorship of Acadia.

This same year New France acquired an officer of great merit, who rendered it most important services. Perrot, governor of Montreal, disagreeing with the clergy of the Seminary of St. Sulpice, who, as already remarked,[2] had, as seigneurs, the right of nominating to the governorship, the king, to maintain harmony, made Perrot governor of Acadia, and appointed as his successor at Montreal the Chevalier de Callieres, ex-captain in the Navarre regiment.[3] The limits of his government were fixed the next year at Lake St. Peter's.

Meanwhile, in the colony little dependence was placed on the peace which had been concluded at Famine Bay. The Iroquois had there seen us in a situation not calculated to inspire them with an exalted idea of our power; nor had they ever consented to include our allies in its terms, although they promised not to molest them. They had even expressly excluded the Illinois by name and we had so great an interest in the preservation of that nation, that we could not avoid defending them in case they were attacked, which no one doubted would soon happen. Accordingly, the late reinforcements from France, although arriving after the promulgation of peace, were deemed any thing but useless. Still, for nearly a year nothing was heard of the Iroquois; but towards the close of July, in the ensuing year, 1685, de la Barre received two letters from Father de Lamberville, missionary at Onondaga, which caused serious thought.

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[1] It was repeated: N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 135.

[2] Ante, pp. 23, 83, 123.

[3] La Hontan, Voyages, i., p. 57, Letter November 2, 1684. The Chevalier Louis Hector de Callières Bonnevue, after twenty years' service in war, assumed the governorship of Montreal about November, 1684: N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 249. He stood high in favor with Dénonville, and was on the Seneca expedition in 1687. The next year he went to France and proposed a plan for reducing New York. He was to command the expedition, and be the French governor of New York. He returned to Canada, and took an active part in the Indian war. In 1699 governor-general; died in 1703.

1684.

Various information received in regard to the Iroquois.

That religious informed him that the Senecas had remained at home all winter without going out to hunt, for fear that the French might make a dash at their canton in case they learned that it was stripped of its braves; they complained that the Mascoutins and Miamis, proud of the avowed protection of Onontbio, had made war on them, taking and killing several of their people; that the Mascoutins had even burned their prisoners, and boasted that they had done so at the instigation of the governor-general; that the five cantons had recently renewed their alliance, to strengthen themselves, they said, against the French, in case of rupture; that the Mohegans had promised them a body of twelve hundred men, and the English a still larger force, with arms and supplies of all kinds; that there were several Iroquois parties actually in the field against the Miamis; that the Senecas refused to deliver the thousand beaver-skins agreed upon with them as the first instalment of payment for what was due the French plundered on their way to the Illinois, and that they excused themselves for this delay by reason of several losses which they pretended to have recently sustained, while it was known that they were carrying more than 10,000 beaver-skins to Orange.

As for the promise they had made to meet the governor-general to concert measures with him suitable to the position of affairs, Father Lamberville stated that they deemed themselves entirely released, 1st, because the roads were bad; 2d, because one of their young men, returning from Quebec the last summer, having fancied that they wished his life, had fled across the woods, where he starved to death, and the French, who, according to them, were the cause of his death, had neither bewailed nor covered him.[1] Finally, that the Onondagas had left nothing undone to induce them to keep their word; but that their sole reply

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[1] That is to say, had not made any compliments or presents to his family. *Charlevoix.* As to this custom, see Lafitau, Mœurs des Sauvages, ii., p. 414; Relation de la N. F., 1646, p. 6.

1684. was: "You are soon to go to Montreal on your own concerns; do there what you deem proper; you shall not be disavowed," a form of speech which, among the Indians, is purely complimentary, and binds to nothing.

Mr. de Dénonville arrives in Canada as governor-general.

A few days after this letter was received by de la Barre, the Marquis de Dénonville[1] landed at Quebec with new troops.[2] He had been appointed governor-general of New France the preceding year,[3] that is to say, immediately after the return of the vessels which took out Messrs. Desnos and de Montortier to Canada; the king seeing, by the information given him of the manner in which peace had been concluded with the Iroquois, that it could not be lasting, and as Mr. de la Barre's advanced age and infirmities incapacitated him from pushing on the war vigorously, his majesty felt the necessity of superseding him, and selected the Marquis de Dénonville, colonel in the dragoons, estimable alike for his valor, uprightness, and piety, resolving to make one more effort to put the governor in a position to establish tranquillity in the country.

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[1] James René de Brisay, Marquis de Dénonville, entered the King's Musketeers, and was at this time colonel of the Queen's Regiment of Dragoons. On being appointed governor of Canada in 1685, he sold his commission to the Messrs. Mercey, says La Hontan. He brought out to Canada his marchioness and their daughter, Mlle. de Brisay, who entered the Hotel Dieu with the view of becoming a nun, but was withdrawn by her mother, and became a Carmelite at Chartres: Juchereau, Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu, p. 296. After a most unfortunate administration, this worthy nobleman was superseded in 1689, and on his return to France was, through the interest of the Duke de Beauvilliers, appointed with that nobleman and the great Fenelon, sub-governor of the Duke of Burgundy and the Princes of the Blood, sons of the Great Dauphin. See La Hontan, i., p. 167; de la Potherie, ii., p. 233; Juchereau, p. 196. His wife is spoken of in the highest terms by Mgr. de St. Valier, Etat Présent, p. 89. Dénonville is the only governor after Champlain who brought his wife to Canada. Madame d'Ailleboust was in the colony on her husband's appointment. Dénonville died in 1710.

[2] In the same vessel came John Baptist de la Croix de Chevrieres de St. Valier, nominated to the see of Quebec on the resignation of Mgr. Laval. He was born Nov. 14, 1653, at Grenoble, where his grandfather and his uncle had been bishop. He was chaplain to Louis XIV. when nominated, and before accepting wished to visit his new diocese. He came out with Dénonville as vicar-general of Mgr. Laval, reached Quebec July 29, 1685, and, after an extensive visitation, sailed 18th Nov., 1686. He was appointed bishop July 7, 1687, consecrated by Abp. Colbert, coadjutor of Rouen, January 25, 1688, and August 1 reached Quebec. He went to Europe in 1702, and on his voyage back to Canada was taken by the English, and did not reach Canada till 1714. He died at Quebec 26th December, 1727. See a sketch of his life in the reprint of the Etat Présent, Quebec, 1856; Les Ursulines de Quebec, ii., p. 140. For the original see ante, vol. i., p. 85. He brought over nine priests, one of whom died on the sea, and another soon after landing: Etat Présent, pp. 2–3. Yet the Liste Chronologique, Quebec, 1834, mentions only one as arriving. The Hospital Nuns had more than three hundred sick on their hands: Juchereau, Hist. de l'Hotel Dieu, p. 283. Mgr. de Laval was not immediately permitted to return to Canada: Lettres, 1687; l'Abeille, ii., No. 26, iii., No. 24.

[3] See his commission, January 1, 1685. Arrets et Ordonnances, iii., p.

He considers war with the Iroquois necessary.

Mr. de Dénonville, giving himself but a few days' rest to recruit after a passage which had been quite severe, ascended at once to Catarocouy.[1] The Sieur de la Forêt had been restored to it by orders from the court,[2] to command there in the name of Mr. de la Sale; but having solicited permission to proceed to the Illinois country, where he expected that the Sieur de la Sale would soon arrive, if he was not already there, Mr. d'Orvilliers had been again appointed to command the post.[3] During the governor-general's visit, learning that the Iroquois had conceived a great distrust of the French, he left nothing undone to reassure them. He saw, nevertheless, that this nation was exalted to a tone of insolence which must of necessity be brought down, and he informed the minister that the hostilities which the Iroquois continued against the Illinois was a sufficient ground for making war upon them; but that it was necessary to be perfectly ready before declaring war, because the Indians always are.

The condition of the colony.

There is every presumption that the injunctions so often made to his predecessors in regard to *Frenchifying* the tribes of this continent, as it was then expressed, were re-

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48; instructions, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 271. The commission was registered at Quebec August 3, 1685.

[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 273.

[2] Ib., ix., pp. 233, 264. See la Salle's remonstrance against de la Barre's seizure of the fort, ib., p. 213; his new commission, ib., p. 225

[3] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 273, 284.

1684. peated to this new general, for in the letter just cited he thus alludes to the subject: "It was long believed that it was necessary to draw the Indians near us to frenchify them; there is every reason to acknowledge that it was a mistake. Those who have approached us have not become French, and the French who frequented them have become savages. They affect to dress and live like them. It is not so with the Indians assembled in villages amid the colony. Nothing is better regulated."[1] He adds, in conclusion, that he found the colony totally unprotected.[2] This was an old complaint, renewed from year to year, and always in vain.

I have already observed that in clearing new land the colonists thought only of settling apart from each other, so as to be able to extend more, without reflecting that this prevented mutual assistance, and by embracing an immense territory, compared to the scanty population contained in the colony, no one could be safe from the enemy's insults; but in vain did the court issue orders to remedy this great evil, and to reduce the parishes to towns: it was never able to enforce them. Every one feared for the public in general, and no one feared for himself in particular. Nor did experience even make those wiser who had fallen victims to their own imprudence. They made up their losses when they were in a condition to do so; those which could not be repaired were soon forgotten, and the prospect of a slight temporary interest blinded all to the future. This is the genuine character of the Indians, and men seem to inhale it with the atmosphere of their country.

The information acquired by the new governor as to the affairs of Canada,[3] to which he devoted himself seriously during the winter, confirmed him in the opinion that we never could make sincere friends of the Iroquois, and that to avoid having always on our hands a troublesome and dangerous enemy, they must, at any cost, be destroyed or humiliated and weakened to such a point as to be compelled to seek our alliance and adhere to it. He was, above all, convinced that there was only this means of maintaining commerce, which they might calculate on soon beholding reduced to nothing, if things remained any short time in their actual condition; and that the Iroquois alone arrested the progress of the gospel among the Indians, a point which touched the Marquis de Dénonville at least as much as the care of preserving the colony.[1]

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[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 277. For an account of the missions at this time, from actual visitation, see Mgr. St. Valier, Etat Présent, pp. 47–70.

[2] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 280.

[3] Charlevoix says little of the internal condition of Canada itself. Mr. de Meules did much to improve Quebec. He turned an old brewery,

On the other hand, all Acadia and the neighboring coasts were exposed to the incursions of the English, and Mr. de Meulles, who had proceeded thither the year previous in order to make a visitation of them, had found that fine country and all the French settlements in the utmost desolation.[2]

Radisson was still at the head of the English in Hudson's Bay, and it was almost impossible for the French to trade any longer in the North; nor, in fine, was commerce more free in the West, since the Senecas had drawn the English to Niagara, whence the latter, by means of the lakes, from which they cut off our communication, could extend their trips as far as Michillimakinac. They had even already begun to show themselves in the vicinity of that post, and they labored earnestly, by means of the Iroquois, to debauch from us the Indians of those parts, who were our greatest resource in the fur-trade.

To protect New France from a misfortune which was not

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abandoned since Talon's day, into a palace for the intendant. The ruins of an old storehouse made way for the church of Our Lady of Victory; but, October 20, 1686, the Ursuline Convent was destroyed by fire: St. Valier, Etat Présent; Les Ursulines de Quebec, i., p. 430.

[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 299, 320, etc.

[2] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 285; Canada Documents, II., iv., p. 321.

1686. as remote as many supposed, the Marquis de Dénonville proposed to the minister, by his letter of May 8, 1686, to erect a stone fort at Niagara capable of holding four or five hundred men. He represented to him that this post thus guarded would absolutely close the passage of the English to the lakes, and put us in a condition to prevent the Iroquois from bringing them their furs, more especially as by means of Fort Catarocouy, where barks could be kept sheltered from the winds all the winter, it would be easy to navigate Lake Ontario freely, we commanding both extremities; and these Indians, whose territory extends along this lake, would no longer have any outlet for hunting-parties except such as we chose to give them; that then, as there is almost no hunting in their territories, where there are scarcely any wild animals, and not a single beaver, they would be at our discretion in regard to trade. This would entail a loss of four hundred thousand francs a year to the English, by which we would profit.[1]

Project of a fort at Niagara.

Moreover, he added, if we wished our allies to be able to aid us when we shall be at war with the Iroquois, it is of absolute necessity to have a post where they can assemble and take refuge in case of reverse or bad weather. In fine, it did not seem to him doubtful that such a fortress, within reach of the Iroquois, would keep them in fear and respect, arrest that great number of French deserters who generally went in that way to the English, and then served them as guides to reconnoitre the advanced posts of the colony. Moreover, we should perhaps succeed in time in gaining the Iroquois, by enabling them to see more clearly the difference between our habits and those of the settlers of New York.

After having thus shown the necessity for this work, the general, to meet the objection which might be made on the ground of expense, suggested to the minister to establish a farm, the capital of which should be the exclusive trade of the post, which would soon become the centre of all the Canadian trade. He averred that in time this farm would afford the king very considerable sums, without doing any injury to the settlers in New France, inasmuch as all the furs that would be obtained at Niagara would otherwise go to the English. Nor was Mr. de Dénonville the only one who thought so, for the Company of Quebec Merchants for Northern Trade earnestly solicited this privilege, binding themselves, in case it were granted, to supply the warehouses at Niagara with all the goods that could be exchanged for furs, to renew the lease every nine years, and to pay his majesty for the privilege a sum of 30,000 livres a year. We shall shortly see what prevented the fulfillment of this project.[1]

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[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 286–8. For the name Niagara, see Marshall, Historical Sketches and Local Names of the Niagara Frontier, pp. 12–13.

Letter from the governor of New York to Mr. Dénonville.

About a month after writing this letter, the general received one from Colonel Dongan, dated May 22d, stating in substance that the great collection of provisions made at Catarocouy induced the Iroquois to think that there was a design of declaring war against them; that these tribes being subjects of the British crown, to attack them would be a manifest infraction of the peace between the two kings; that he had also learned that there was a design of building a fort at Niagara, and that this information had given him the greater astonishment, as they could not be ignorant in Canada that all that country was within the dependence of New York.

General's reply.

The reply of Mr. de Dénonville was, that the Iroquois feared chastisement because they felt guilty; that, nevertheless, the supplies sent to Catarocouy need not have alarmed them; that having always a large garrison in that post, and opportunities for forwarding supplies not occurring frequently, it was necessary when they did arise to avail of them to send up considerable convoys; that it

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[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 290.

1686. might well be that some French deserters had originated or supported the suspicions of the Iroquois, but that the reports of these vagabonds deserved no credit, the more especially as they were interested in sowing trouble and division between the two colonies; that England had no foundation for its pretensions to the sovereignty of the Iroquois country, and that they must know that the French had taken possession of it before there were any English in New York; that, moreover, the two monarchs, their masters, living in perfect understanding, it did not become the lieutenants-general to seek to trouble it.[1]

In this step of Colonel Dongan there was nothing to surprise the Marquis de Dénonville. The whole conduct of that officer, from his taking office, had convinced the French that they should always find him in their way, and they were well informed that he would lose no opportunity of stirring up the Iroquois against them; but they did not, perhaps, yet know all they had to fear from so dangerous a neighbor, whom all the authority of the Duke of York, on whom he depended immediately, could never induce, even after that prince ascended the throne, to remain a calm spectator of all that occurred between us and the Iroquois. In fine, they were soon after enlightened by a channel above suspicion.[2]

Enterprise of Colonel Dongan. During the summer information arrived that the Iroquois had made an irruption into the Saguinam, a very deep bay on the western shore of Lake Huron, and had attacked the Ottawas of Michillimakinac, whose ordinary hunting-ground it was.[3] Father de Lamberville discovered at Onondaga that this hostility was the fruit of a deliberation of all the cantons, whose deputies Colonel Dongan had convoked at Albany; that he had warned them that the new general of the French was resolved to declare war against them; that he exhorted them to anticipate it, to plunder the French and their allies wherever they found them, adding that they would easily effect this, as they would find them off their guard; and that he had assured them that, come what would, he would not forsake them. 1686.

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[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., iii., pp. 455–8; Doc. Hist., i., pp. 128–9.

[2] Dongan held many conferences with the Five Nations in regard to their inroads into Virginia and Maryland: Colden, pp. 48–62, etc.

[3] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 293, 296. Perrot makes no allusion to it. Seventy Hurons and thirty-six Ottawas were carried off.

The missionary had been warned of all these intrigues by the Christian Iroquois, and even by idolaters, who loved him greatly. He had been unable to prevent the meeting held at Albany, but he had labored successfully to divert a part of the tempest formed there, and, after obtaining a promise from the head sachems of the Onondaga canton that they would never consent to any enterprise during his absence, he set out to inform Mr. de Dénonville of all that he knew. Dongan, who was soon informed of his departure, guessed the reason, and it was then that he wrote to the French general the letter recently mentioned, and which arrived before Father de Lamberville.[1]

At the same time he sent expresses to all the cantons to hasten the execution of the design conceived at Albany, and he summoned the Onondaga cantons to deliver up to him Father James de Lamberville, brother of the one who had gone to Quebec, and left by him as a hostage in that canton.[2] He did more: he undertook to seduce from us the Iroquois Christians of Sault St. Louis and the Mountain, sending them word that he would give them, in his jurisdiction, a tract where they would be better and more safely situated than in the French colony; and as he was not ignorant that they were retained in our interest chiefly by the fear of losing their religion among the English, he gave them on this point every assurance that they could desire, adding that the king, his master, as well as himself,

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[1] Dénonville's Memoire, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 296; Doc. Hist., i., p. 133.

[2] Dénonville to Seignelay, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 297; Doc. Hist., i., p. 133.

1686. were Catholics, and that they should have in New York missionaries of the same religion.[1] Yet he gained nothing, either with the Christian Iroquois or even with the pagans, and the canton of Onondaga refused to surrender Father de Lamberville to him.

The English are received at Michillimakinac.

He succeeded better at first at Michillimakinac, whither for some time past all the Indians who had been gathered at Sault St. Mary's had retired. He sent them English traders, who took great care to announce in advance that they would sell their goods much cheaper than the French could do. They were very well received, and conducted their trade in perfect liberty, because, unfortunately, Mr. de la Durantaye was absent. He arrived almost at the moment when they had just departed, and he wished to pursue them instantly; but the Hurons prevented him, and sent an escort to the English, which conducted them till they fell in with the Senecas coming to meet them.

Nothing was fraught with greater danger than this opening of trade between New York and the nations whom we had till then regarded as our most faithful allies.[2] Accordingly, Mr. de Dénonville thought that he must no longer defer making war on the Senecas, who were the intermediate agents; but, before all things, it was necessary to present a front on all sides, have a strong garrison at Catarocouy, send a considerable detachment by Sorel River on the side of the Mohawks, to hold that canton in check, and excite the jealousy of Colonel Dongan.

Forces of the colony.

Nor was it less necessary to have magazines at various points, and put them beyond danger. For all this, and to compose this army, which the general wished to command in person, only eight hundred men could be drawn from

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[1] Dongan's Report, ib., iii., p. 394. Dongan brought out Jesuits from England to replace the French: Oliver's Collections, Scotch-English Members of the Society of Jesus, London, 1845: *Verbis*, Gage, Charles, p. 97; Harrison, Henry, p. 113; Harvey, Thos., p. 114; Doc. Hist., iii., p. 73.

[2] Dénonville to Seignelay, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 297; ib., iii., p. 295; la Hontan, i., p. 68.

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the colony; nor was much dependence to be placed on the regular troops, who were little used to war, for the most part ill armed, and who had no knowledge of the mode of carrying on war in America. It was, consequently, of necessity to dissemble till reinforcements arrived which were expected from France; and the only point was to seek pretexts to cover all these preparations.[1]

Father de Lamberville prevents the Iroquois from commencing hostilities.

The first thing to which the governor-general turned his attention was to send Father de Lamberville back to his mission, and he loaded him with presents for all the Onondaga chiefs whom he had most hope of gaining and preserving in our interest. It was time that the missionary made his appearance in that canton, the governor of New York having profited by his absence to revive in the minds of the Indians fears of a French incursion when they least expected it. He had persuaded them that Father de Lamberville did not wish to be among them when the troops of his canton came to bear fire and sword through their towns, and that he would take care never to appear there again. In a word, he had negotiated so successfully that all the cantons had assembled, and a part of the warriors were already on the march when that religious appeared once more at Onondaga.

His presence in a moment changed the face of affairs. He spoke to the chiefs with that frankness and that insinuating manner that had won him the esteem and affection of that nation; he dissipated almost all the suspicions that had been instilled into them, and the presents, seasonably distributed, completing what his suavity of manner had successfully begun, the warriors were recalled, and no more was said of a rupture with the French. The rest of the summer was spent in negotiations, sometimes to exchange the prisoners made on both sides, and sometimes to bring our allies back to sentiments more suited to their real interest.[2] Those entrusted with the last part

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[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 269–300.

[2] See Petition of Commissioners of Albany for removal of French, N. Y. Col. Doc., iii., p. 418.

1686. succeeded so that they induced the Hurons and the Ottawas of Michillimakinac to come down to Catarocouy to confer with the governor-general.

Disposition of that nation.

Towards the end of September Father de Lamberville again returned to Quebec, to report to the Marquis de Dénonville the disposition in which the Iroquois actually were. He told him that the Onondagas alone had given up the prisoners taken from our allies, and that the Senecas had pleaded as an excuse that their captives would not return to their tribes. This report confirmed the general in the opinion that it was time lost to negotiate with that nation. He had even already decided on his course; but he would not disclose it to the missionary; he merely let him see that he was resolved to drive the Senecas to the wall.[1]

"That Father," he says in a letter which he wrote to Mr. du Seignelay, under the date of November 8, "loves these Indians greatly, although in daily danger of being killed by drunkards; nevertheless, he admits that there are no hopes of their conversion unless they are humbled; that their only design is to destroy the other Indians in order then to fall upon us, and this is the policy of Colonel Dongan. That governor lavishes great kindness on our deserters, from whom he derives great services, and I am, myself, obliged to manage them, till I am in a position to punish them. I have sent back Father de Lamberville with orders to convoke all the Iroquois nations at Catarocouy next spring to talk over our affairs, and as it is necessary to have a faithful interpreter, and as the Recollect Fathers, chaplains of that post, do not know the language, and all our interpreters, except a son of Sieur le Moyne's, are ignorant fellows, I have selected Father Milet, and I have requested the Recollect Fathers to yield the place to him till the war is ended, promising to restore it to them. Father de Lamberville is to send me back his brother, in order that he may have less difficulty in retiring alone. The poor Father, withal, knows nothing of our designs, and I regret to expose him. I learn that the five cantons are making up a large force against the Miamis and the Indians of (Green) bay. They destroyed a village of the latter, but the hunters overtook and defeated them with loss; they now wish to take their revenge. They have recently made great havoc among the Illinois; they no longer keep any terms with us, and plunder our canoes wherever they find them."[1]

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[1] Dénonville to Seignelay, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 297–8; Doc. Hist., i., 133.

Affairs at Hudson's Bay.

While these things were passing in the midst of the colony, affairs had once more changed face in Hudson's Bay. The English always treated our establishment on St. Teresa's River as an usurpation; but the court of London had been convinced on this point, and the two kings had agreed that each party should remain in possession of what he occupied. Both courts acted, doubtless, with equal sincerity; but as in England the nation is not always in harmony with the sovereign, and does not regard the deliberations of the council as laws which require their submission to them, precaution must be taken in treating with the court. This the French had not previously thought of doing, and we have seen the consequences.

It was afterwards known that Colonel Dongan, who then exercised *ad interim* the functions of governor-general in New England, had had no slight share in the treachery that deprived us of the fort on St. Teresa's River, an act as to which the most Christian king had made great but ineffectual complaints to the king of Great Britain through Mr. de Barillon, his embassador near that prince. Charles II. disavowed his subjects, but he had not the power to restore to his ally what had been wrested from him through the treachery of a deserter.[2]

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[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 298; Doc. Hist., i., p. 132; Canada Doc., I., iii., p. 110. Charlevoix does not cite verbally or continuously. The defeat of the Iroquois is apparently that by the Outagamis mentioned in la Hontan, Voyages, vol. ii., p. 167.

[2] Collect. of Treaties, i., pp. 442–6.

Preparations in Canada to expel the English.

On the other hand, those interested in the Northern Company, to which the King had conceded the fort seized by the English, seeing no prospect of obtaining from his majesty a force sufficient to replace them in possession, resolved to raise means themselves.[1] They asked Mr. de Dénonville for soldiers, and an officer to command them. That general granted them eighty men, almost all Canadians, and as commander the Chevalier de Troye, a retired captain and a man of resolution. Sainte Helene, d'Iberville, and Maricourt, all three sons of Mr. le Moyne, volunteered to accompany the expedition.[2] This little force set out in March, 1686, and, after undergoing many hardships, arrived at the head of Hudson's Bay on the 20th of June.[3]

Success of the expedition.

It began operations at once, and the first fort to which the Chevalier de Troye laid siege was that of Monsipi, on the Monsoni River. It was a stockade fort, and had four bastions covered with earth. In the middle was a house forty feet square and as many high, terminating in a platform.[1] This fort was at first escaladed and the palisades cut down with axes. The cannoneer alone attempted a defence, and died bravely. All the rest asked for quarter, and were made prisoners of war.[2] They were sixteen in number, and had twelve cannon, eight and six pounders, three thousand pounds of powder, and ten of lead.

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[1] The French king, by a decree in council, 20th May, 1685, gave the associates a grant of St. Teresa River: De la Potherie, i., p. 147.

[2] James le Moyne, Sieur de Ste. Helene, second son of Charles le Moyne, received his name from an island opposite Montreal. Born at Montreal April 16, 1659. After many services, he was mortally wounded at Beauport, repulsing the English, in October, 1690: Daniel, Une Page de Notre Histoire, p. 220. Peter le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville, one of the greatest French naval commanders, third son of Charles le Moyne, born at Montreal July 16, 1661; midshipman at fourteen. After his service at Hudson's Bay, took Fort Pemquid in 1696, reduced Newfoundland, annually visited Hudson's Bay. In 1697 totally defeated the English there. Sailed from France in 1698 for the Mississippi; found mouth in 1699. In 1706 took Nevis, and died at Havana: Daniel, Une Page de Notre Histoire, p. 223. Paul le Moyne, Sieur de Maricourt, fourth son of Charles le Moyne, born at Montreal 15th December, 1663, subsequently negotiated a treaty with the Iroquois, and died at Montreal March 21, 1704, leaving no issue, though twice married: Daniel, Une Page de Notre Histoire, pp. 228–30. Father Anthony Silvy, S. J., accompanied the force: De la Potherie, i., p. 147. See his letter, July 30, 1686, in St. Valier, Etat Présent, p. 43. He arrived in Canada 30th September, 1673; died in Canada in 1711: Martin, Catalogue in Carayon, Doc. Inédits, xiv., p. 116.

[3] De la Potherie, Hist. de l'Am. Sept., i., p. 147; Collection of Treaties, i., p. 447.

D'Iberville then embarked with nine men in two bark canoes, and proceeded to attack a small vessel lying at anchor, with fourteen men aboard, the general of the Bay being there in person. They made, however, a very feeble resistance, and surrendered without any condition except that their lives should be spared.[3] Sainte Helene had been detached at the same time with fifty men, and finding near the shore a vessel unguarded, embarked with his men and sailed to Fort Rupert, fifteen or twenty leagues distant from Monsipi, and situated, as previously remarked, on the River Nemiscau. He landed near the place without any opposition, and at once mounted to the assault; but the garrison, astounded at this intrepidity, cried quarter and threw down their arms, so that no one was killed. This fort had just been rebuilt, and the guns were not yet mounted on the carriages.[4]

After this second capture all the French united, and, embarking on Iberville's and Sainte Helene's two prizes, sailed to Fort Quitchitchouen,[5] the reduction of which cost them only the voyage, powder, and cannon-balls. The garrison, after standing a considerable cannonade, capitulated.[6] The great English stores were at this place, and

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[1] De la Potherie, in his description, says thirty feet. Father Silvy (St. Valier, Etat Présent, pp. 43–5) calls it Monsousipiou.

[2] De la Potherie, Hist. de l'Am. Sept., i., p. 151; St. Valier, Etat Présent, p. 44.

[3] St. Valier, Etat Présent, p. 44, says he had twelve men. Charlevoix follows de la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale, i., p. 153. They call the English commander at the Bay Brigueur: Ib., p. 154.

[4] De la Potherie, Hist. de l'Am. Sept., i., p. 152, says they built the boat, started June 25, were off Rupert 1st July.

[5] De la Potherie, Hist. de l'Am. Sept., i., p. 155, writes Kichichouanne.

[6] De la Potherie, Hist. de l'Am. Sept., i., p. 156, etc. It surrendered

1686. became the principal fruit of this expedition, which gave the French the mastery of all the southern part of Hudson's Bay. However, the furs found amounted to only fifty thousand crowns, which seemed to show that the Indians did not gather there in any great number, or that the English did not yet know how to treat with those tribes. The garrison of Quitchitchouen was sent to Port Nelson[1] in a vessel given to them.[2]

It appears from some letters written towards the close of this year, that this expedition excited great outcry at London, and it is certain that it was made a crime in the king of England, to whom his subjects then ascribed every disaster. What is still more astonishing is, that the plenipotentiaries of Queen Anne, at the Congress of Utrecht, demanded compensation on this account, laying the damage at a very large amount, as though we were not entitled to exact still heavier for the invasion of the fort on St. Teresa's River, for which the capture of the three forts at the head of the bay was only just reprisal.

A projected agreement as to Port Nelson deemed impracticable.

Some time after the expedition of the Chevalier de Troye, it was agreed between the two kings that Port Nelson should remain in common to the two nations, who might trade there in all freedom ; but this project, which required subjects as well disposed as their sovereigns to live in harmony, was deemed impracticable by all who saw matters more closely.[3] The Marquis de Dénonville represented to the king his master that the propinquity of the English in

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July 16, 1686. See articles granted Henry Sergent, governor for the Hudson's Bay Company, ib., p. 161. Father Silvy, in St. Valier, Etat Présent, p. 45, says it was taken on Ste. Anne's day, after being riddled with one hundred and twenty balls, in less than an hour.

[1] To the island of Charles Eston : De la Potherie, i., p. 162.

[2] The Chevalier de la Troye started for Montreal again August 10, 1686 : Ib., p. 163. Dénonville calls him the most intelligent and efficient of his captains. "Better conduct than he exhibited is impossible." He was placed in the fort in Niagara, and died there with all his men in 1687.

[3] See instructions to Frontenac, June 7, 1689, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 428 ; Canada Doc., I., iv., p. 198. The Revolution in England stopped the proposed adjustment.

such remote parts would be a continual source of hostilities on both sides, and a dangerous temptation for numbers of libertines, whom the least subject of dissatisfaction would induce to take refuge at Port Nelson.

He added that the English merchants, paying higher for beaver than the French, would always have the preference, and consequently would almost monopolize the trade; that in case it was deemed advisable to make a compromise in Hudson's Bay between the subjects of the two crowns, it was better to withdraw Port Nelson from the hands of the English and restore them the three forts just captured from them; that all three were not, by far, worth Port Nelson alone for trading purposes; and that on the first rupture it would be very easy to retake them by an overland march, as the Chevalier de Troye had done.

Treaty of neutrality between the English and French for America.

In the spring of the ensuing year the governor-general received an order from the king which would have been more efficacious in avoiding all the disadvantages which the general wished to avoid, and to reduce the Iroquois to tranquillity, than the most successful expedition, had the English, who solicited it, acted in good faith. "Having been informed," said his majesty, "by Mr. de Barillon, my embassador extraordinary to the king of England, that the ministers of his Britannic majesty had proposed to him a treaty of neutrality between my subjects and his in the islands and countries on the mainland of America; and considering that I could do nothing more advantageous to my said subjects than to secure them the means of carrying on trade, cultivating the ground, and advancing their settlements uninterruptedly, I would have accepted this proposition, and sent to said Sieur de Barillon the necessary powers to conclude this treaty, which has been happily terminated on the 13th of the month of September last. I dispatch this letter to make known my intention that you should publish and register it in the sovereign council of Quebec, and that you give exact attention to its

1686. execution, without deviating from it for any reason whatever. And as by the 14th and 15th articles of that treaty it is especially agreed that orders shall be sent to the governors and other officers to prosecute as pirates all the private shippers who have no lawful commission, and those who hold one from any prince or state with which either of the two nations is at war, my intention is that in case any of these ships arrive in your jurisdiction you have them arrested and prosecuted."[1]

It is beyond doubt that such a treaty, if it could be religiously observed, would be equally advantageous to all European nations which have colonies in the New World, and that it would contribute infinitely to the progress of religion among the nations subject to the Catholic princes; but experience, on more than one occasion, should have convinced them that the English would not observe it, and there is every reason to infer that they proposed it only to lull the French into false security. This was not doubted for a single moment in New France, nor were they long in perceiving that their anticipations were not unfounded.

The English violate it.

The very next year they made an attempt on the fort at Quitchitchouen, which bore the name of Sainte Anne after we had taken possession of it; but they found there the valiant Iberville, who repulsed them with loss, took a vessel from them, and burned a house which they had built on the seashore.[2] Colonel Dongan, on his side, never desisted from his constant intrigues with the Iroquois, who, sure of support whenever they needed his aid, grew more insolent every day, and no longer kept any bounds. This had obliged Mr de Dénonville to declare war on them in the month of September in the preceding year, 1686.

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[1] See Treaty, November 16, 1686; Memoires des Commissaires, vol. ii., p. 81; Corps Diplomatique, VII., part ii., p. 141: also, Provisional Treaty concerning America, Memoires des Com., vol. ii., p. 89. See letter of Louis XIV. to de Dénonville and de Champigny, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 322, 330; Order to Dongan, N. Y. Col. Doc., iii., p. 504; Instrument for Preventing Acts of Hostility, ib., 505.

[2] Canada Documents, II., v., p. 53.

The governor-general prepares to march against the Iroquois.

The general had then apparently received from France all the reinforcements which he had solicited, for, after writing to Mr. de Seignelay, on the 6th of June in the same year, that he could not draw from the colony for this war more than nine hundred men at most, and that with so small a force he was not in a position to undertake any thing, he says, on the 6th of August following, that he expected to be on Lake Ontario before the month of June, 1687, with two thousand Frenchmen and six hundred domiciliated Indians;[1] but the declaration of war[2] was preceded by a step which it is not surprising that the king ordered, as we have seen[3] that this prince had done even in Mr. de la Barre's time, but that Mr. de Dénonville cannot be pardoned for undertaking without having foreseen and represented the pernicious consequences, still less for executing it in a way that could not have been prescribed.

The king's project of filling the banks of his galleys with all the Iroquois prisoners that he could capture, was in no way illegitimate, after the repeated acts of treachery of that fierce nation, as they had almost always kept the French who had the misfortune to fall into their hands in a bondage far more severe than that of our galley-slaves, to say nothing of those whom they put to death in the most fearful torments. To this may be added the right of conquest in the Mohawk canton under Mr. de Tracy, and the acts of taking possession made before the very eyes of the Iroquois, and in some sort with their consent; but they knew little of the Indians, who imagined that they intended to fetter their liberty by this ceremonial: and even had all this entitled us to regard them as subjects of the crown, which I by no means gainsay, it seems to me that nothing

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[1] The letters of June 6 and August 6 are not in the N. Y. or Canada Collections. As to his preparation, see St. Valier, Etat Présent de l'Eglise (reprint), p. 90.

[2] War was proclaimed at Quebec with extraordinary solemnities: St Valier, Etat Présent de l'Eglise, p. 90.

[3] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 315, 324.

1687. can justify the perfidy resorted to in treating with them. It is at least certain that the king, in his order to Mr. de la Barre to send them to the galleys, spoke only of such as should be made prisoners of war, always taking the ground that they were revolted subjects.

The leading Iroquois chiefs taken by surprise and sent to the galleys.

Be that as it may, Mr. de Dénonville believed himself justified in using all possible means to weaken and intimidate savages whose perfidy, unheard of cruelty, and conduct on all occasions rendered unworthy of being treated with any regard of ordinary rules. On this principle, and not reflecting sufficiently that he owed to himself what he deemed not due to the Iroquois, he, before declaring war, under various pretexts, allured several of the leading chiefs to Catarocouy, and when they arrived put them in chains. He then sent them under a strong guard to Quebec, with orders to the commandant to send them in the ships to France, to be conveyed to the galleys.[1] In this it cannot be denied that he committed several faults, which cannot be excused by saying that he was not sufficiently acquainted with the Indians, and gave himself up too completely to bad advice.

Evil consequences of this step.

The first is, that to draw the Iroquois chiefs into the snare he employed the two missionary Fathers, de Lamberville and Milet, from whom he had concealed his de-

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[1] Charlevoix, misled apparently by la Hontan and Frontenac (N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 464), misplaces and confounds this matter. The seizure of these Indians was carried out by Champigny, who led the van of the army, in June, 1687, to Catarocouy. The Indians taken were not chiefs invited to conference: Champigny, Letter July 16, 1687, N. Y. Col. Doc.. ix., p. 332; Dénonville, ib., p. 360; St. Valier, Etat Présent, pp. 91–2. Some were Indians taken by Champigny on his way, and treated as spies; others were Iroquois residing at Kenté, etc. Belmont, Histoire du Canada, p. 20, says forty men and eighty women and children were taken from Ganeyoussé, Kenté, and Catarockȣy: the men with Horchouassé, a Cayuga, being sent to the galleys. Mgr. de St. Valier says, loosely, nearly two hundred were taken, p. 92. The army moved June 11. Oureouaté was taken by Peré June 19th. Those seized at Catarocouy were taken about July 3; and Lamberville reached Dénonville June 29 (N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 358, 362), and must have left Onondaga before news of the seizures could have reached there.

1687. sign; nor did he reflect that by so doing he would contribute to throw perpetual discredit on the ministry of the gospel laborers in the mind not only of that nation, but also of all others on that continent. Secondly, that he could not avoid punishing the innocent with the guilty; for he might well infer that those who on his word would come to Catarocouy, would not be the sole authors of mischief, as in fact happened. Thirdly, he could not be assured of entirely subjugating a nation whom so striking a blow must naturally render irreconcilable, and provoke to the greatest excess of fury against us. Finally, the circumstances of this seizure were most odious, and unfortunately this alone remained. Mr. de Dénonville had promised himself to humble these Indians, and the obligation of disavowing his act, to which government was driven, rendered them more insolent. He embittered them much more than he weakened them, and by compelling them to have recourse to the English in order to wreak their vengeance on us, he gave the latter great advantages in attaching the Iroquois firmly to them.[1]

Captivity of Father Milet.

Of the two missionaries whose services the general had employed to lure the Iroquois into the snare, one, Father Milet, shortly after fell into the hands of the Oneidas, who at first doomed him to the stake, and made him undergo all the sufferings which are the usual preliminaries to that cruel torture. He was, nevertheless, preserved, almost at the moment of execution, by a matron, who adopted him, withdrew him to her cabin, and treated him well.[2] I shall have occasion to speak of her hereafter, and show in what manner heaven rewarded her generous conduct.

As for Father de Lamberville, in regard to whose fate

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[1] Charlevoix's version of this affair seems much exaggerated, and, as we have shown, cannot be reconciled with dates and facts. It was perhaps based on mere recollection of Father Lamberville's account long after.

[2] Milet was not taken till 1690: Milet, Relation de sa Captivité parmi les Onneiots, N. Y., 1684, 8vo, p. 56.

1687.

Noble and generous conduct of the Onondagas towards Father de Lamberville.

Mr. de Dénonville had not unreasonably entertained so much uneasiness because he had remained in the hands of the Onondagas, he owed his safety and his liberty to the great esteem and the sincere attachment felt for him in that canton. When the tidings arrived of what had occurred at Catarocouy, the sachems summoned him, and, after stating the fact to him with all the energy that men are capable of in the first impulses of what is deemed well-founded indignation, when he expected to meet the most bitter proofs of the fury which he beheld depicted in every countenance, one of these sachems addressed him in these words, which we heard from his own lips :

" It cannot be denied that reasons of every kind would justify us in treating thee as an enemy ; but we cannot bring ourselves to it. We know thee too well not to be convinced that thy heart had no share in the treachery thou hast acted towards us ; and we are not so unjust as to punish thee for a crime of which we believe thee innocent, which, beyond a doubt, thou dost detest as much as we do, and of which we are convinced thou art in despair at having been made the instrument. Still it is not safe for thee to remain here ; all, perhaps, will not render thee the justice that we do, and when once our young men have sung the war-song, they will behold in thee only a faithless man who has betrayed our chiefs to a harsh and unworthy slavery, and they will hearken only to their fury, from which it would no longer be in our power to rescue thee."

They did more : they compelled him to set out at once, giving him guides, who conducted him by by-paths, and did not leave him till he was out of danger.[1] No doubt was entertained that Garakonthié[2] was the chief author of such noble conduct. This Indian was deeply attached to Father de Lamberville, and the affection which that missionary always maintained for him gives every reason to infer that he regarded him as his deliverer.

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[1] There seems no allusion to this elsewhere.

[2] If a Garakonthié figured in this, it was not Daniel, who died in 1676, but his brother, a far inferior man.

Plan of campaign against the Senecas.

All was ready to begin the war when Mr. de Dénonville declared his intentions in the manner we have just described. His plans were quite well arranged, and it must be conceded that if the result of the expedition did not altogether meet his expectations, this was more his misfortune than his fault. The Chevalier de Tonti, returning from a voyage which he had made to the mouth of the Micissipi to seek tidings of Mr. de la Sale, being at Montreal in the month of July of the preceding year, had received orders to return at once to the Illinois,[1] and there to proclaim war and assemble all of those Indians that he possibly could, and to lead them down in June of this year to the vicinity of the Senecas, in the direction of the Andastes and the Ohio; then to send out small parties in order to spread alarm through the enemy and cut off the retreat of their women and children, which it was believed they could do securely only in that direction.[2]

The Indians around (Green) Bay were greatly incensed against the Iroquois, who had quite recently carried off a considerable number of their women. The Marquis de Dénonville did not fail to profit by the fortunate moment to induce them to swell his army. Still, he did not deem it advisable to disclose his whole project to them; but he begged them to join Mr. du Luth, whom he directed to intrench himself at the head of the strait (Detroit) towards Lake Huron, an important post for the assemblage and

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[1] Memoir of the Sieur de Tonty in Margry, pp. 23–4; Louisiana Hist. Col., i., p. 67; Dénonville to Seignelay, November 8, 1686, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 301. Dénonville's letter informed Tonty that la Salle was at the mouth of the Mississippi. He started from Michillimakinac on St. Andrew's day, and went by way of Chicago to Fort St. Louis. He left it February 16, reached the gulf, and wished his men to coast around to New York. He reached Montreal at the end of July, and started in September for Illinois, which he reached in December. The Indians assembled at the fort in April, marched on the 17th, and on the 19th May were at the fort of Detroit.

[2] Tonty's Memoir in Margry, pp. 23–5. The allusion to the Andastes is unfounded.

1687. security of the different parties who were to come from all quarters of Canada to the general rendezvous of the army.

Boisguillot and Nicholas Perrot, who were trading near the Micissipi, were notified to be at Michillimakinac at a time appointed, with all the French who were in their company or vicinity, except such as it might be necessary to leave to protect their property; and to notify the Sioux that if, during their absence, they molested our allies in the least, they should be made to repent it bitterly.[1]

Finally, Mr. de la Durantaye, who still commanded at Michillimakinac, and who, by his wisdom, vigilance, firm yet mild conduct, had won the esteem and affection of all the Indians settled around that post, had orders to assemble all these different bodies of troops and lead them to Niagara, there to reconnoitre the country well and harass the enemy while awaiting the army, in case he was the first to arrive; but to make a distinction in favor of the Onondagas, and content himself with making them prisoners, both because they had acted better than the other Iroquois and to serve as exchanges for the two Fathers de Lamberville, in case those two missionaries should not have had time to withdraw from that canton before the declaration of war.[2]

All this was successfully accomplished, except that the Chevalier de Tonti could bring down only eighty Illinois of the six or seven hundred on whom he had reckoned, because they heard that the Senecas were in the field to dash down upon their villages. The information was true; but this party having been informed by an envoy of the governor of New York that the French were on the point of entering their canton in arms, was compelled to retrace its steps. Meanwhile Tonti, seeing himself too slenderly attended to carry out all that Mr. de Dénonville had prescribed, had no alternative but to join Mr. du Luth at the entrance of Detroit River.[1]

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[1] Perrot, Mœurs et Coustumes des Sauvages, pp. 138, 303.

[2] Dénonville to Seignelay, June 8, 1687, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 327.

The missionaries prevent the Hurons and Ottawas from joining the Iroquois.

Nor was it without great difficulty that the majority of the other Indians were induced to take up arms for this expedition. The Hurons and Ottawas had even been on the point of contracting an alliance with the Iroquois, and although de la Durantaye and du Luth, who were at the head of a pretty considerable number of French, kept them in awe, still, had not the missionaries found means to win over the two leading chiefs of these nations, there can be no doubt but that they would have then joined the Senecas or remained inactive. The governor-general reported to the minister that these Fathers had on this occasion warded off the greatest misfortune that could befall the colony.[2] He contributed not a little himself, for the two chiefs of whom I have spoken having, at the persuasion of the missionaries, come down to meet him, he succeeded, by his winning manners, in binding them to his interest.

Supineness of the Iroquois during our preparations.

All these arrangements were made, and in part carried out, before the declaration of war, without the Iroquois learning what was preparing against them. The first tidings which they received through Colonel Dongan produced no other effect than to make them a little more watchful of our operations; and even then they soon calmed down. The departure of the younger Father de Lamberville, which had been colored with a plausible pretext, had not opened their eyes; and the presence of the elder, who seemed very tranquil, and who in fact was utterly unsuspicious, reassured them absolutely.

Colonel Dongan rouses them from this supineness.

Meanwhile the governor of New York unceasingly kept using every means to rouse them from this lethargy, and seeing that he could not succeed, he turned his attention

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[1] Dénonville to Seignelay, August 25, 1687, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 339; Tonty's Memoir, L. H. Col., i., pp. 68–9.

[2] Dénonville to Seignelay, June 8, 1687, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 325. Father Enjalrau was the superior of these western missionaries.

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wholly to Mr. de Dénonville, whom he flattered himself he would be able to amuse, but he did not. At last, learning that all our French and Indians were on the point of marching, he notified the Iroquois, who began to distrust something. Yet this did not prevent their sending their chiefs to Catarocouy, where they trusted they would intimidate the general, or involve him in some negotiation which would give them time to anticipate him.[1]

The French army began its advance.

But the French army was already encamped on the small island of St. Helen,[2] which is in front of Montreal; and on the 7th of June Mr. de Champigny Noroi,[3] who had the year previous succeeded Mr. de Meulles[4] as intendant of New France, proceeded to the camp with the Chevalier de Vaudreuil, who had recently arrived in the colony with the rank of commandant of the troops.[5] All was ready, and on the 11th the army began its advance on two hundred batteaux and as many Indian canoes. It was composed of eight hundred and thirty-two men of the king's troops, about a thousand Canadians, and three hundred Indians.[1] 1687.

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[1] See Correspondence, N. Y. Col. Doc., iii., pp. 455–8, ix., p. 311; Doc. Hist., i., pp. 143, 145. Dongan sold them powder and lead, and gave them a considerable quantity as a present: Colden's Five Nations, ed. 1727, p. 97.

[2] La Hontan, Voyages, i., p. 89.

[3] John Bochart, Seigneur de Champigny, Noroy, Verneuil, etc., was made intendant April 24, 1686: Arrets et Ordonnances, iii., p. 51. He arrived in September (Juchereau, Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu, p. 289) or earlier (la Hontan, Voyages, i., p. 72). He belonged to one of the most distinguished families in civil employ in France (ib., p. 73), and was related to de Lauson, a former governor: Juchereau, Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu, p. 289. He was succeeded, in 1702, by Mr. de Beauharnois: N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 740.

[4] De Meules, appointed May 1, 1682 (Arrets et Ordonnances, iii., p. 47), was removed in 1686, on the unjust charge of looking too much to his own interests: La Hontan, i., p. 72; Juchereau, Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu, p. 289.

[5] Philip de Rigaud, son of John Louis de Rigaud, Seigneur et Baron de St. Cornette, who died in 1659, then entered the king's musketeers, and in 1676 had risen to the rank of brigadier and colonel. Appointed to command the detachment of eight hundred men sent to Canada, he arrived in the Arc-en-ciel July, 1687 (N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 331), after a voyage of thirty-three days (St. Valier, Etat Présent, p. 91), accompanied Dénonville to Western New York (ib., p. 334), distinguished himself at Quebec, where he held the rank of colonel in the regular army, and was promoted in consequence to the captaincy of a man-of-war: Daniel, Une Page de Notre Histoire, p. 259. Was in Frontenac's Onondaga expedition, and in 1698 became governor of Montreal, succeeding Mr. de Callières, whom he succeeded as governor of the colony in 1703.

The perfect harmony which existed between the governor and the new intendant, based on the most sincere virtue and a similar zeal in both for the king's service, had diffused this same concert in all the corps which constituted this little army, and caused abundance to reign. Mr. de Champigny accompanied it for three days, at the end of which he took the lead with a detachment of thirty men, with the view of so anticipating everything that could arrest the troops at Catarocouy, that they should not be obliged to make any long stay there;[2] but the vigilance and activity of Mr. d'Orvilliers had provided for this, and the intendant found scarcely any thing to do.

Mr. de Dénonville followed close, and that general, on arriving at Catarocouy,[3] received a letter from Colonel

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After Hovenden Walker's repulse he was made governor of Révei, in Languedoc, in 1710; Commander Grand Cross of the Order of St. Louis in 1712. He died October 10, 1725, at the castle of St. Louis, Quebec. He is at first styled Chevalier, and from about 1705 Marquis. Even Mr. Daniel, in his elaborate sketch, does not tell how he acquired the title.

[1] Champigny to Seignelay, July 16, 1687, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 331, gives eight hundred and thirty regulars, nine hundred and thirty militia, besides one hundred sent in the convoy, Indians three hundred. He says it moved the 10th. The Memoir of the Voyage and Expedition, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 359, says eight hundred regulars, eight hundred militia, distributed on the 10th in the batteaux, each carrying eight. The regulars were under Captains d'Orvilliers, St. Cirq, de Troyes, and Valrennes; the militia under Berthier, la Valterye, Grandville, and Longueuil le Moyne. La Hontan (vol. i., p. 90) makes regulars and provincials fifteen hundred. Belmont, Histoire du Canada, p. 20, says eighteen hundred regulars and militia, one hundred and sixty Iroquois from the Sault and Mountain, forty Hurons, sixty Abnakis, and a few Algonquins. Smith, History of New York (1757), p. 51, says, loosely, two thousand troops, six hundred Indians. Mgr. de St. Valier, Etat Présent, p. 91, says the army was composed of thirty-two companies, in eight battalions, four of regulars and four of militia, one hundred and fifty Indians from the Sault and Lorette, fifty from the Mountain, one hundred from Sillery.

[2] Champigny to Seignelay, July 16, 1687, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 331. La Hontan, Nouveau Voyage, i., p. 90, says he started June 6.

[3] He reached it June 30: Memoir

1687.

Colonel Dongan's letter to Mr. de Dénonville.

Dongan written nearly in the same tone that that governor was accustomed to assume where the Iroquois were concerned; that is to say, that he made great complaints of the French making war on the subjects of the king of England. He added that Mr. de la Barre had deemed it a duty not to undertake such an expedition without previously informing him.

The general's reply.

Mr. de Dénonville replied[1] that they were very far from agreeing, if he regarded the Iroquois as subjects of his Britannic majesty; and as to the course of Mr. de la Barre, on which he pretended to rely, he must inform him that it was not an example for him to follow. He spoke all the more firmly, as he had just learned, through the Sieur de la Forêt, some tidings which completely unmasked the governor of New York.[2] The affair in question was this:

Defeat of the English on Lake Huron.

On Lake Huron Mr. de la Durantaye had fallen in with sixty Englishmen, divided in two bands, escorted by Senecas, led by a French deserter,[3] and carrying goods to trade at Michillimakinac. This was in formal violation of the agreement between the two crowns, as Colonel Dongan well knew. Accordingly, de la Durantaye did not hesitate to attack the convoy. All in charge of it were taken, and their goods distributed among the Indians. There is no doubt that, had these traders reached Michillimakinac while the commandant was absent, they would again have induced the Indians to take sides with the Iroquois, or at

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of the Voyage, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 362. This Memoir details his march.

[1] Dénonville, in the Memoir, does not mention receiving this letter. See in N. Y. Col. Doc., iii., pp. 464–5; Doc. Hist., i., pp. 144–5; Dongan to Lamberville, May 20; Dongan to Dénonville, June 11; Dénonville to Dongan, August 22, N. Y. Col. Doc., iii., p. 469; Doc. Hist., i., p. 159.

[2] Dénonville's Memoir, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 303.

[3] La Fontaine Marion. There were two parties, one taken before Tonty reached Detroit, the other after: Tonty, Memoire in Margry, p. 25. Mgr. de St. Valier states, Etat Présent, p. 92, that one of the parties, running out of provisions, sent the guide to Michillimakinac. Father Enjalran learned all from him, and warned la Durantaye, who went out, took them, and brought them all to Michillimakinac, and then to Toucharontion.

least remain neutral. There was even reason to believe this their main object.[1]

Fort des Sables.

After thus successfully defeating their plans, Mr. de la Durantaye proceeded to join Messrs. du Luth and Tonti at the entrance of the Detroit,[2] and then advanced with them to Niagara.[3] Scarcely had they arrived when the Sieur de la Forêt brought them an order from the governor-general to be on the tenth at Rivière des Sables, this side of the Bay of the Senecas, towards Catarocouy.[4] Mr. de Dénonville advanced to that spot with all his force, and, by a chance from which the Indians did not fail to draw favorable auguries, they all entered it simultaneously. They at once set to work to throw up on the lake-shore, a little above the river, an intrenchment with stockades to inclose the stores. It was completed in two days, and Mr. d'Orvilliers left there with four hundred men to guard it and protect the rear of the army.[5]

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[1] Dénonville's Memoir, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 363; Perrot, Mœurs et Coustumes des Sauvages, p. 141; Belmont, Histoire du Canada, p. 21; Tonty, Memoire in Margry, p. 25; de la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale, ii., pp. 201–5, followed by Colden, Five Nations, N. Y., 1727, pp. 93–6; Smith's New York (1757), p. 51; la Hontan, Nouveau Voyage, i., p. 96; Information furnished by Nanning Harmentse, N. Y. Col. Doc., iii., p. 436. They were under Colonel Patrick Magregorie, who came from Scotland to Maryland in 1684, with a number of followers, but removed to New Jersey, and was finally induced to settle in New York. He was made muster-master-general of the militia, and turned his attention to the Indian trade. He was released in 1687, and killed at New York by Leisler in 1691: O'Callaghan, N. Y. Col. Doc., iii.

[2] Toucharontion, St. Valier, Etat Présent, p. 93. All three then advanced on Lake Erie, and on the way to Niagara captured the second party: Ib.

[3] Perrot, Mœurs et Coustumes, p. 141; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 363.

[4] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 363; Tonty, Memoire, pp. 2–6. The place was Gannyeodathah on Ganniagarontagouat (opening into the lake), New Irondequois Bay: Morgan in N. Y. Hist. Col., II., ii., p. 176, n.; Colden, Five Nations (1727), p. 100; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 364; ib., p. 261, n. Smith, History of New York, 1757, p. 51, writes Tyrondequait. Belmont, Histoire du Canada, p. 21, writes Ateniatarontagué. Mgr. de St. Valier, Etat Présent, p. 93, Ateniatarontaguet.

[5] Dénonville's Memoir, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 364; la Hontan, Nouv. Voyage, i., p. 97; Perrot, Mœurs et Coustumes, p. 142; Belmont, His-

1687. The general, before marching from this post, shot the Frenchman who had acted as guide to the English to go to Michillimakinac, and who was taken fighting against the service of his sovereign. This the Baron de la Hontan denounces as unjust,[1] because, he says, we were then at peace with England, and the English pretended to be masters of the lakes. As though this chimerical pretension, never mentioned to my knowledge by any one but this author, restored to innocence a deserter who was serving another nation to the detriment of his sovereign.

Engagement with the Senecas.

From Fort des Sables the army took its way inland;[2] and on the 13th, after having passed two very dangerous defiles, it reached a third,[3] where it was vigorously assailed

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toire du Canada, p. 21; Mgr. de St. Valier, Etat Présent, p. 94; Tonty, Memoirs, p. 26.

[1] La Hontan, Nouv. Voyage, i., p. 97. La Hontan represents himself as of Bearn, son of one who had done service to the State, as having come out with three companies of troops of the marine sent to de la Barre in the autumn of 1683, as in de la Barre's expedition in 1684, in Dénonville's in 1687, and the next year as sent to take command of Fort St. Joseph. His property in France having been seized, he asked leave of absence to return to France in 1688, and finally reached France early in 1692, after having discovered and explored, as he pretended, the Long River. It is a curious fact that no author alludes to such a personage as the Baron la Hontan or his doings in Canada at the time. In the series of papers in the N. Y. Colonial Documents covering the period from 1683 to 1692, his name never occurs: nor does it in Tonty or any of the other writers on la Salle's affairs in Illinois. Feller represents him as born about 1666 at Mont de Marsan, in Gascony. He was sent to Placentia in 1693 as king's lieutenant, but quarreling with the governor, was cashiered, went to Portugal, and thence to Denmark. He published his voyages in 1703–5 at the Hague, aided by Gueudeville. He seems to have died before 1716, when Leibnitz published his posthumous Reponse à la Lettre d'un Perticulier, etc.

[2] Three companies of French Canadians, under la Durantaye, Tonty, and du Lut, with Indians on the flanks, formed the van under de Callières, then the governor followed with the regulars and militia: St. Valier, Etat Présent, p. 94; Tonty, Memoire in Margry, p. 26.

[3] Two Mohawks, Garistatsi and Gannagenrogen deserted to the Senecas, and revealed Dénonville's plans: Ib., p. 95. St. Valier gives the march clearly. First day, four or five hours through open wood; next day, good road; after a time, grass neck-high between hills, then a marshy ground till within half a league of Gazeroaré.

1687. by eight hundred Iroquois.[1] Two hundred of these Indians, after pouring in a volley, were detached to take our army in the rear, while the rest continued to charge the van.[2] The army was within gunshot of the first Seneca village,[3] from which it was feared other Indian forces would issue; and this fear, with being surprised on a disadvantageous ground, at first caused some disorder. Many of the Indians, better trained to bush-fighting than the French, held firm, and gave the army time to collect itself. Then the enemy was repulsed on all sides, and, seeing the odds too great, they disbanded in order to facilitate their flight.[4]

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[1] The place of the action, as located by O. H. Marshall, Esq., on Indian authority, is a spot near Boughton's Hill, in the town of Victor, Ontario County, still called by the Senecas Dyagodiyu (i. e., Place of a Battle): N. Y. Hist. Col., II., ii., p. 158. His map and result are corroborated by St. Valier, Etat Présent, p. 95, and by Belmont, Histoire du Canada, pp. 22–3, who says that the road to the Seneca town led over three small hills. A river at its foot ran through three larger hills, and formed a marsh. St. Valier adds that a quarter of a league further it emptied into a larger stream.

[2] The Senecas posted five hundred at the foot of the hill before the town, Belmont (six hundred St. Valier), and three hundred in the marsh, to attack the French rear after it had passed. This party attacked the rear of the van, thinking it the whole army.

[3] This village, called Gaensera by Belmont, Gazeroaré by St. Valier, Gannagaro by Dénonville (Minute of taking possession, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 334), apparently the Canagorah of Greenhalgh (N. Y. Col. Doc., iii., p. 251), Mr. Marshall, from authentic Indian account and actual examination, identifies with Gaosaehgasah (Bass wood used to be there), a Seneca town on Boughton's Hill, in the town of Victor: N. Y. Hist. Col., II., ii., p. 159; Historical Sketches of the Niagara Frontier, p. 10. Bishop St. Valier calls it a famous Babylon, where so many crimes were committed, so much blood shed, so many men burned.

[4] Dénonville passes lightly over the confusion in his letter and his Memoir: N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 338, 365. The error of the swamp party (n. 2) attacking the rear of the French van (p. 286, n.), saved Dénonville's army. At the first attack the Ottawas and other Western Indians fled: Belmont, p. 23; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., 365 (Contra, Tonty, Memoire, p. 26), though the domiciliated Indians held firm (Ib., St. Valier, p. 94). Dénonville then came up with the main body, and endeavored to push on to the stockade fort or village on the hill, but a panic prevailed (Belmont, p. 23; la Hontan, i., p. 79). The Berthier battalion gave way, but was rallied by Dugué, commanding the Montreal company. Belmont says de Valrenne alone dis-

1687. In this action we had five or six men killed, and about twenty wounded,[1] among the latter the Jesuit Father Anjelran, who was occupied among the Indians when the enemy made his first charge.[2] Mr. Dénonville, in one of his letters to Mr. de Seignelay, says that New France was under great obligations to this missionary; that he had more than any one else contributed to retain the Ottawas and Hurons in our alliance, and that but for him Michillimakinac would long since have been in the hands of the English or Iroquois.[3] The enemy's loss was forty-five men killed on the spot, and they had sixty wounded. The bodies of the former were first cut to pieces and eaten by the Ottawas, who, says Mr. de Dénonville in his letter to Mr. de Seignelay, made war on the dead much better than they did on the living.

This was not the case with the Hurons who had come with them, and who did their duty perfectly. Those of Lorette, the Iroquois of Sault St. Louis and the Mountain, did better still. The only man of mark whom we lost on

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tinguished himself. St. Valier praises Dénonville and de Callières, who fought in their shirt-sleeves, and would not take to the trees, Indian fashion (p. 97). Perrot, Mœurs et Coustumes, p. 142, gives no details. De la Potherie, in his short account (ii., p. 207), which has been followed by Colden, History Five Nations (1727), p. 101, and Smith, History of New York, p. 51, reverses it all, and makes the Indian van hold firm. The Seneca accounts, N. Y. Documentary History, i., pp. 151–3; Col. Doc., iii., p. 445, agree in the main with the better French accounts. They make the Seneca force four hundred and fifty.

[1] Dénonville states his loss, in killed, regulars one, militia five, Indians five; wounded, five regulars, six militia; and the Seneca loss, forty-five killed, sixty wounded. Belmont makes the Seneca loss, fourteen died on the field, sixty from wounds (pp. 24–5). Tonty, who represents his company as forcing the Seneca ambuscade, says they lost his lieutenant and six men then. The Indian account, taken down by Dongan, makes the French loss seven killed, French Indians five killed, Senecas sixteen killed: Doc. Hist., i., p. 154. St. Valier says thirty Senecas, of whom eleven died. La Hontan differs widely from these more authentic accounts. He makes one hundred French, ten French Indians killed, twenty or thirty wounded. Seneca loss eighty.

[2] John Enjalran came to Canada in 1676, and left in 1702: Martin in Carayon, Doc. Inédits, xiv., p. 73.

[3] Dénonville to Seignelay, Aug. 25, N. Y. Colonial Documents, ix., p. 338.

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this occasion was a Mohawk[1] chief of Sault St. Louis, named Hot Ashes (la Cendre Chaude). He had been one of the torturers of Father de Brebeuf, and ascribed his conversion to the prayers of the holy martyr. So well had he repaired his crime, that few missionaries won as many heathens to God as he did. The Canadians fought with their usual bravery; but throughout the campaign the regulars did themselves little honor.[2] This had been expected. "What can be done with such men?" said Mr. de Dénonville in a letter to the minister.

Consequence of the action.

On the 14th the army proceeded to encamp in one of the four great villages which constituted the Seneca canton, and which was seven or eight leagues distant from Fort des Sables. No one was found there, and it was burned.[3] The army then advanced further into the country, and during the ten days spent in overrunning it did not meet a soul. The great number had fled to the Cayugas, and it was afterwards ascertained that some had passed on to New York; that Colonel Dongan had supplied those who attacked the French with munitions of war, and that the king of England having sent an intendant to New York to enforce the neutrality treaty, the governor had at once compelled him to re-embark, and sent him back to Europe.[4]

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[1] De la Potherie (i., p. 349) says he was an Oneida, but he is mistaken. *Charlevoix.* Oyenratarihen or Hot Cinders (Belmont, Histoire du Canada, p. 24), called, also, Garonhiagué (Chauchetiere, Vie de la Bonne Cathérine) was really an Oneida. He was converted at la Prairie: Shea's Catholic Missions, pp. 297–318. St. Valier describes his death, Etat Présent, p. 97. The head chief of the Mountain, called Tégaretouan, or the Sun, was also killed: Belmont, Histoire du Canada, p. 24; St. Valier, Etat Présent, p. 97; also, the Huron chief called in French le Ciel des Tionontatez.

[2] The regulars really stood firm after the militia broke.

[3] Mgr. de St. Valier says, Etat Présent, p. 98, that they burned this town, three others, and a fort. The second fort on a hill near the first, Morgan identifies with Gahayanduk (*there was a fort there*), Gannogarae of Dénonville with Chinoshahgeh (*on the slope of the valley*), northeast of the present E. Bloomfield, Totiakto with Deyudehaakdoh (*the Bend*) with the Bend near W. Mendon, Monroe Co. (N. Y. Hist. Col., II., ii., pp. 181–7), Gannounata with Dyudoosot, two miles S. E. of E. Avon.

[4] Belmont, Histoire du Canada, p.

1687. To return to our army: the ten days spent in the enemy's country were employed in ravaging it, and especially in destroying 400,000 bushels of corn.[1] An immense number of hogs were also killed, which caused much sickness.[2] This, with the fatigue of two days' march over terrible roads and the general's fear of being abandoned by his Indians, who threatened it constantly, forced him to limit his exploits to this. Accordingly, after taking possession anew of the country just conquered,[3] he advanced towards the Niagara River.[4]

It is certain that Mr. de Dénonville did all that was possible, under the circumstances in which he was placed, to put this nation, once for all, out of the power of giving any further annoyance, that he spared himself in nothing, that he labored like a common soldier, evinced great intrepidity in the action just described, that the Senecas were really humbled, and all the Iroquois undeceived in the opinion they entertained that with the protection of the English they had nothing to fear from the French arms, that they understood that if the blows struck at them did not totally humble them, and even did them very little injury, they were indebted to it for accidents that could not have been foreseen, and that they should not expose themselves lightly to the same risks which they had just encountered; but, after all, the colony derived no benefit from it.

Fort built at Niagara, and soon after abandoned.

The governor-general had constantly his heart set on building a fort at Niagara, and the opportunity for carrying out this design was too fair a one to be neglected. The fort was erected, and the Chevalier de Troye, with one hundred men, left there to guard it.[5] Our allies tes-

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25; Tonty, Memoire in Margry, p. 26.

[1] Dénonville's Memoir, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 338. St. Valier, Etat Présent, p. 98, says 600,000 bushels new, and 30,000 old.

[2] Belmont, Histoire du Canada, p. 26.

[3] Minute of taking possession, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 334.

[4] Taking possession of Niagara, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 335.

[5] Dénonville's Memoir, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 339; Belmont, Histoire du Canada, p. 26. La Hontan, i., p.

1687.

tified great joy, and the sequel will show that nothing should have been neglected to maintain that post, notwithstanding the difficulties encountered; but sickness breaking out soon after among the garrison, which died to a man,[1] this fatality was ascribed to the air of the place. There is, however, every ground to infer that it was caused solely by the provisions, which were spoiled.[2] Be that as it may, this important post was soon after abandoned and destroyed, to the great regret of Mr. de Dénonville.[3]

New intrigues of Colonel Dongan.

Meanwhile the governor of New York steadily pursued his plan, which consisted in endeavoring to debauch our allies and draw to himself all the trade of Canada, as well as render the Iroquois our irreconcilable enemies. He informed the cantons that he did not wish them to go any more to Catarocouy, or have any missionary except of his choice; he even persuaded them to send back to the Hurons and Ottawas of Michillimakinac all the prisoners they had taken from them. He again sent word to the Iroquois of Sault St. Louis and the Mountain that if they would remove near him he would give them English Jesuits as missionaries, and a much more advantageous tract of land than that which they occupied. He finally notified the Marquis de Dénonville that if he continued to molest the Iroquois, he could not refrain from giving them open aid.[4]

101, says de Bergers, with one hundred and twenty men, was left under the Chevalier de Troyes, with supplies for eight months. De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale, ii., p. 208, says des Bergers had one hundred men. See Colden, Five Nations, 1727, p. 102.

[1] La Hontan says that de Bergers and twelve men escaped the scurvy, and were found by some Miamis, who aided them to reach Catarocouy: Nouv. Voyage, i., p. 131. De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale, ii., p. 210, says all died but seven or eight, who were saved by Miamis.

[2] Belmont ascribes it to the fresh pork eaten at the Seneca village, which caused dysenteries, Histoire du Canada, p. 26, though on p. 27 he attributes it to scurvy from salt food and lack of vegetables.

[3] A new fort has been built here within a few years. Several colonists have settled there, but no one complains of the unhealthfulness of the air. *Charlevoix.*

[4] Dongan to Dénonville, 8th Sept.,

1687.

An Iroquois of Sault St. Louis labors usefully for religion and the colony.

The general made light of his threats, and seeing no prospect of reducing the Iroquois by force of arms, devoted himself entirely to creating division among them. He had not yet been able to penetrate the real disposition of the Mohawk canton. One of the chiefs of Sault St. Louis, who was from that canton, and who was styled in Canada "The Great Mohawk" (Le Grand Agnier), offered to go with five others, and bring back certain intelligence[1] His offer was accepted, and as he was crossing Lake Champlain, he met a party of sixty Mohawks sent out by Colonel Dongan to make prisoners. He went forward fearlessly to meet them, told them that Onontbio did not wish to make war on them, and spoke with so much power that he induced them to return home. He even preached Jesus Christ to them in a manner which affected them sensibly, and he actually brought four of them to Sault St. Louis.[2]

He then sent his nephew with another Indian to the cantons of Oneida and Onondaga, to give them the same assurance that he had just given his own tribesmen ; and the great influence which his merit and virtue had acquired, upheld by the good services of Garakonthié, who arrested all the violent resolutions in his canton, were for some time a powerful barrier, which all the efforts of the governor of New York could not overthrow. Fear of treatment like that just experienced by the Seneca canton, had also its effect.

Matters were still on the same footing at Hudson's

1687, N. Y. Col. Doc., iii., p. 472 ; Doc. Hist., i., p. 163.

[1] Dénonville to Seignelay, October 27, 1687, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 352. The great Mohawk, called in New York accounts Kryn: N. Y. Col. Doc., iii., p. 478. He became a convert at Laprairie in 1674, and, returning to Caughnawaga, early in 1676 led quite a colony to the St. Lawrence: Relationes Inédites, i., p. 281 ; Mission de St. Xavier des Pres, 1674, MS. ; Chauchetière, Vie de la Bonne Cathérine, MS. ; Relation, 1673–9, p. 142. After the event mentioned in the text, he joined the expedition against Schenectady, and was killed June 4, 1690, on Salmon River by some Abnakis, who mistook his party for English : Shea, Hist. Cath. Missions, pp. 271, 298, 320.

[2] Dénonville to Seignelay, October 27, 1687, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 352 ; Schuyler to Dongan, ib., iii., p. 478.

Bay; but the preceding autumn there took place an action too singular to be omitted in this history. I derive it from a letter of the Marquis de Dénonville, who received intelligence of it on his return from Niagara.

Exploit of two Frenchmen in Hudson's Bay.

Mr. d'Iberville, who was still in command of the forts at the head of the bay, learning that an English ship was caught in the ice near Charleston, a small fort recently thrown up by the English, six leagues from Saint Anne, sent four men to reconnoitre it. One of the four fell sick on the way, and was obliged to return; the three others were apparently not sufficiently on their guard; they allowed themselves to be surprised by the crew of the ship. When they least expected it, a volley of musketry was poured on them, though without wounding any of them. They endeavored to fly, but were pursued. One escaped; the two others were taken and bound, then carried on board and shut up at the bottom of the hold.

When the proper time for navigation came, the master of the ship having been drowned while running on the ice floes, one of which gave way under him, the crew found itself reduced to six men, and was consequently too feeble to work the vessel. They accordingly released one of their two prisoners, choosing the man who seemed to them the least resolute, but they had miscalculated. One day when four Englishmen were busy on the yards, the Frenchman, seeing only two sailors near him, seized an axe unperceived by them, and tomahawked them. He then ran to release his comrade, and the two having armed themselves to the teeth, forced the Englishmen to come down, and secured them. They then sailed for St. Anne, but had not proceeded far when they met Mr. d'Iberville, who, having heard of their detention, was coming to recover or avenge them. The ship which they brought was quite richly laden, and well provided with goods which came quite seasonably to revictual Fort St. Anne, and fill its storehouses.[1]

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[1] Dénonville to Seignelay, August 25, 1687, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 344.

1687.

Enterprise of the English in Acadia.

Dénonville was far from having as favorable intelligence to communicate to the court from Acadia and its vicinity. These southern provinces of Canada continued to be left unrelieved, and the English rarely missed the opportunity to profit by this negligence, to assail the posts which were not in a position to resist. Dutchmen who arrived off the coast a few years before, had demolished Fort Pentagoët.[1] Baron de Saint Castin, ex-captain in the Carignan regiment,[2] had taken up his post there after a partial restoration; but some time after the governor-general of New England sent to summon him to retire, pretending that the whole country, as far as St. Croix Island, belonged to his government.

He derided the summons, though perfectly conscious that unless relief came he must at last succumb; and this is evident from his letter of July 9th of this year, addressed to Mr. de Dénonville, complaining of the English pretensions. He added that the governor-general of New England appeared to have correspondents in the country. On the whole, the neglect into which these fine provinces had been allowed to fall, was the more surprising, as in the

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He makes it occur in the fall, consequently of 1686, after the departure of de Troye in August, 1686. Iberville remained six months longer: De la Potherie.

[1] Ante, p. 188.

[2] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 380. Vincent, Baron de St. Castin, was a native of Oleron, in Bearn; came to Canada in 1665, not as colonel of the regiment Carignan Salieres, as erroneously stated by Dexter (Church's Indian Wars, part ii., p. 19) and other American writers, who follow Raynal, but as we are told by Rev. Mr. Petit (letter in Mgr. St. Valier's Etat Présent, p. 39), himself originally a captain in that regiment, as ensign in Chambly's company, being at the time only fifteen years of age. That he ever became captain is doubtful: Ferland, ii., p. 151. He married a daughter of Madockawando, by whom he had several children. When the Chevalier de Grandfontaine, captain in the regiment C. S., was put in command in Acadia (ante 138), St. Castin is said to have been made his lieutentant, although this may have been under Grandfontaine's successor, de Chambly. The plundering of St. Castin's place by the English drove him among the Indians, whose life he to some extent adopted, and over whom he acquired great influence. His wrongs cost New England dear. He returned to France about 1710, some of his children remaining: Shea's Catholic Missions, p. 192.

preceding years the court seemed to have determined to derive from them all the advantage that they could render to France.

Advice of Mr. de Meules as to what should be done for the country.

Mr. de Meules, as already remarked, visited Acadia towards the close of the year 1685. On his return to Quebec he reported to the minister that the most useful settlement that his majesty could make in America was Acadia. He at the same time wrote to the king that New France could not, in its actual condition, maintain itself, and that the fur-trade was not enough to support it; that this was most unfortunate, the setters being fitted for any thing; that in truth if we had all the furs of Canada it would be an important object, but this could not be reckoned on as long as there were Iroquois in the country and English in their vicinity.[1]

That this was not the case with Acadia, where there was nothing to prevent the establishment of fisheries; but that to be able to do so securely, it was necessary to settle and fortify Port Royal and to build a good fort at Pentagoët, to serve as a barrier for Acadia against the English; that if with this something could be expended on Port de la Héve, on the island of Cape Breton, Isle Percée, and in fortifying Placentia, in Newfoundland, which Sieur Parat, then in command there, was too weak to defend in case of attack, France would be sole mistress of the cod fisheries; but it was advisable that his majesty should incur all the expenses, and not farm out the fisheries so soon: by allowing those who undertook it to make some profit, he would soon be réimbursed for his outlay. He added, that having taken the census of all that depended on the government of Acadia, he had found nine hundred souls there.[2]

Towards the close of summer there was a great mortality in Canada,[3] and this was what chiefly prevented Mr. de

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[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 272.

[2] Letters July 18–19, 1687, Canada Doc., II., v., p. 253.

[3] Dénonville to Seignelay, October 27, 1687, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 354. Measles was brought by the ships,

1687. Dénonville from carrying out the project he had formed of a second expedition against the Senecas; moreover, he could now less than ever count upon the Indians of the western parts, especially on the Hurons of Michillimakinac, for he had discovered that these last kept up secret correspondence with the Iroquois, even before the preceding campaign, although during it they did their duty quite well.[1] Moreover, the English were waging open war upon us on the coast of Acadia,[2] and there could be no doubt that they were always ready to aid our enemies when we wished to attack them.

What prevents Mr. de Dénonville from marching against the Senecas a second time.

Reflections on this governor's administration.

The general's greatest embarrassments came from the orders which he received from the court, to give them no cause of complaint;[3] but these orders, doubtless, presupposed that the English on their side would act in the same spirit towards us, but this was not so. It is certain that a firmer and more lofty attitude with neighbors of that stamp, who observed none of the articles of the treaty of neutrality, would not have been disapproved. It is not disobedience to a sovereign to interpret his will, and do what he would do himself were he informed of the actual state of affairs. This is especially true in a remote colony, where a governor-general may suppose that his master does not require of him a blind obedience, and where he must know that it is for him to harmonize the interests of the state and the glory of the prince with the instructions which he receives. Louis XIV. more than once so explained his instructions, even with regard to the commandants of distant posts; but Mr. de Dénonville did not sufficiently reflect on this.

Moreover, he did not personally make himself sufficiently acquainted with the affairs of the country, or rather all

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and spotted fever broke out. Sillery was depopulated, one hundred and thirty having died. Belmont, Hist. du Canada, p. 28, puts deaths at seventeen hundred.

[1] Perrot, Mœurs et Coustumes, p. 143; la Hontan, i., p. 113.

[2] Williamson's Maine, i., p. 583.

[3] Louis XIV. to Dénonville, June 17, 1689, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 330.

whom he consulted for information did not deserve the confidence he reposed in them. Several even abused it, to make him follow their peculiar ideas or to subserve their own ends. Under a governor who declares openly in favor of virtue, and does not sufficiently distrust those who surround him, interest, ambition, and the other passions have only to assume a mask, the easiest thing in the world to men who are not guided by conscience and honor.

His eulogium.

This was never more sensible than under the administration of the Marquis de Dénonville. This general possessed, in a sovereign degree, all that can constitute a perfectly upright man in the eyes of God and in the eyes of man. He lacked no quality necessary to form the mind and heart of a young prince destined to govern a great kingdom ; and it is known how his example caused virtue and religion to be respected at court. He was, moreover, of tried courage ; he was well versed in war. He had solely in view the advantage of the colony and the progress of religion, and he zealously embraced every proposition for causing either to flourish. No one gave the court more just or sound advice as to what was to be done in Canada, and seldom but in his time were the three who shared authority guided by that good understanding which is so necessary for the happiness of the people and the good of the service.

Errors that he committed.

But he sometimes lacked activity and vigor. He did not apply himself to know well those who approached him, and he did not always persevere in what he undertook, as in the case of Fort Niagara. Before undertaking to establish that post, he should have been well resolved to maintain it without being discouraged by difficulties, and not expose himself to the contempt of all the nations by abandoning it. Moreover, the mortality which ensued there, and which deprived the colony of the Chevalier de Troye, an officer of great merit, with an entire garrison of a hundred men, and which committed ravages equally as great at Catarocouy, did not arise, as Mr. de Dénonville sup-

1687. posed, from their being constantly harassed and in some sort blockaded by the enemy, so that they had not liberty to obtain the least refreshment by means of hunting and fishing, but from the fact that most of the provisions left there proved to be spoiled and caused scurvy, and from the fact that no attention was paid to sending remedies there, faults that would not have been committed, or at least not have gone unpunished, under a firmer rule.

It has been stated that Mr. de Dénonville had so great an aversion to the Indians, that he could scarcely bear the sight of them without being, in a manner, beside himself; but nothing is more unjust than the reproach made him on this score, for, were it a fact, this purely natûral defect would redound only to his glory, as it never prevented his treating with those Indians, either in public or private, when there was need. This he could not have done without incalculable struggles with himself, which constitute real courage.

Various hostilities of the Iroquois.

To return to the Iroquois: while men were reposing a little too much on the fear in which the Iroquois seemed to be of a new irruption into their country, and perhaps also on new orders just received by Colonel Dongan, to labor for a peace between the other cantons and ourselves, with very formal directions against his furnishing them arms or munitions of any kind, on the 3d of November[1] Fort Chambly was suddenly besieged by a large number of Mohawks and Mohegans; and it was afterwards ascertained that this enterprise was the work of the governor of New York.[2]

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[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 390, but no date given. Belmont, Histoire du Canada, p. 27, says October 4. Du Plessis commanded the fort. The assailants were one hundred and fifty Mohawks. They took a soldier and his wife and child.

[2] See Dongan's address to the Five Nations at Albany, August 5 (of.): Colden, Five Nations (1727), p. 103; Smith's History of New York, 1757, p. 53. He advised them to take French prisoners (Colden, p. 106; Smith, p. 53); to look out sharp, especially at Cadarackui, Oniagara, Trois Rivieres, Montreal, and Chambly (Colden, p. 109; Smith, p. 56), planning the subsequent campaigns

The resistance they encountered forced them, indeed, to decamp the next day; but it was not till after they had burned some isolated houses and carried off some prisoners. The failure of this expedition, and a notification to Governor Dongan that his complicity in it was known, made him fear reprisals. The alarm at Orange was even so great that the country-people sent in all their valuables, and a body of twelve hundred Indians spent the whole winter around that town to protect it.[1] 1687.

Simultaneously almost with the investment of Fort Chambly, forty Onondagas approached Catarocouy and carried off, near that fort, three soldiers and Mademoiselle d'Alonne.[2] Mr. d'Orvilliers, to whom that lady found means of making known the misfortune that had befallen her, sent to the enemy to propose a conference on the very spot where they had halted. It was accepted, and Father de Lamberville, who was fortunately then at Catarocouy, consented to undertake to go and negotiate with them. The missionary began by asking them why they had committed this hostility while we were at war with the Senecas only. They replied that Ononthio, having arrested their chiefs, had violated the peace.

"Your chiefs," replied the Father, "are at Quebec; they were arrested only because you gave us reason to distrust you." "And how," replied the Iroquois, "are they treated at Quebec?" "Except," he replied, "that they have had fetters put on their feet to prevent their escape, they have no reason to complain of the treatment given them." On concluding these words he presented them two belts; one

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of the league. Colden, p. 111, in stating that Dongan was compelled by the king to agree to a cessation of arms and deliver up prisoners without conditions, is evidently wrong. The treaty of neutrality preceded these matters, and though Dongan was removed, the instructions to Andros show that James II. yielded nothing of Dongan's claims.

[1] There seems no authority for this.

[2] Relation of the Events of the War, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 389. According to Belmont, Histoire du Canada, pp. 26-7, Catarocouy was besieged in August and September. Niagara was besieged by forty canoes. Four hundred Iroquois descended the St. Lawrence. The Mohawks burned Verchères.

1687. to induce them not to harm their prisoners, and the other to exhort them not to take up the quarrel of the Senecas, who had unseasonably drawn on themselves the indignation of their Father. They received the belts, and the parties separated. The prisoners were taken to Onondaga, where they were treated very leniently, but the belts were sent to the governor of New York.[1]

Colonel Dongan's propositions to Mr. de Dénonville.

If the Iroquois seized at Catarocouy were still at Quebec when Father de Lamberville so positively asserted it,[2] it is certain that they were not when the governor-general learned what had taken place. About a month afterwards an envoy of Colonel Dongan[3] arrived at the capital with a letter from that governor, who demanded an explanation of the two belts presented by the missionary to the Onondagas ; and the general, not yet informed of the fact, replied verbally that he would send his reply when he was informed of the matter in question.[4]

Father Vaillant sent to him.

In fact, he soon after dispatched to Manhattan Father Vaillant de Gueslis, whom he advised, on his return, to visit the Mohawks, by whom that missionary was much esteemed, to make no proposition to Colonel Dongan, and merely to ascertain whether that governor had any proposition to submit to him. Father Vaillant set out on the last day of the year 1687, and in the first interview which he had with the English governor he could elicit nothing from him except that he had sent an express to the Marquis de Dénonville, simply to have an explanation of the two belts which Father de Lamberville had presented to the Onondagas.

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[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 389.

[2] To all appearance, the Iroquois were already on board and had sailed for France, although they continued to keep Father de Lamberville in the dark. Some Memoirs say that the vessels were still at anchor. *Charlevoix.*

[3] This was Colonel Patrick Magregorie (N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 389 ; Belmont, Histoire du Canada, p. 27), the leader of the party sent by Dongan to Michillimakinac, and seized by la Durantaye in 1686.

[4] The correspondence, N. Y. Col. Doc., iii., p. 256, etc., does not allude to the belts.

The English governor explains his demands to the missionary.

Gradually, nevertheless, the missionary induced him to explain his demands more fully, and Dongan at last declared plainly that the French must expect peace from the Iroquois only on these four conditions: 1st, that the Indians sent to France to serve in the galleys should be brought back; 2d, that the Christian Iroquois of Sault St. Louis and the Mountain should be obliged to return to their cantons; 3d, that Forts Catarocouy and Niagara should be razed; 4th, that every thing taken from the Seneca villages should be restored to them. He then dismissed the missionary without allowing him to see the Mohawks.[1]

His message to the Iroquois.

He immediately summoned to Albany the principal sachems of the five cantons,[2] to whom he stated that the governor-general of the French had sent to beg him to effect a peace between them and him; that he had not deemed it proper to refuse to enter into negotiation, and that he had submitted to the French conditions, with which they would have every reason to be satisfied. He explained these conditions to them, and then added: "I desire you to lay down the hatchet, but I do not wish you to bury it: content yourselves with merely hiding it under the grass, so that you may take it up again easily when there is need. The king, my master, has forbidden me to furnish you with arms and ammunition in case you continue to make war on the French; but do not allow this prohibition to alarm you. If the French reject these conditions which I have proposed to them, you shall want nothing necessary to do justice to you. I will sooner furnish it to you at my own expense than forsake you in so just a cause. My advice to you now is, to keep well on

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[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 389. Father Vaillant was accompanied by Elambert Dumont. They were taken by the Mohegans, and ill treated. The correspondence between them and Dongan, in February, 1688, is in N. Y. Colonial Documents, iii., pp. 520–532.

[2] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 389. Dongan's Address to the Five Nations is dated February 8 (ib., iii., p. 533), earlier than the last paper in the negotiation with Vaillant.

1688. your guard for fear of some new treachery on the part of your enemies, and secretly to make your preparations to burst down on them by Lake Champlain and Catarocouy when you are obliged to renew the war."[1]

These Indians renew his hostilities.

The Iroquois deputies understood all that the governor wished them to infer, and remained quite tranquil during the rest of the winter. As soon as the navigation of the rivers was open, Mr. de Dénonville sent a great convoy to Catarocouy,[2] with orders to the officer in command to ascertain the condition in which the garrison at Niagara might be, and to send a reinforcement there, should it be necessary. This convoy reached its destination quite safely; but as those who had conducted it were returning to Montreal, twenty-five or thirty Iroquois surprised one of their canoes, and cut off the heads of two men in sight of the commandant, who, instead of rushing to the relief of the wretched men, destroyed seventeen of his canoes, in order to increase the crews of the rest and escape more easily.[3] Mr. de Dénonville gives in one of his letters a different account, apparently as reported to him by the officer. He simply states that five men of this convoy having straggled somewhat to hunt, were killed by the Iroquois.

Negotiations with the Onondagas.

It was evident that these savages would no longer listen to propositions of peace; and the governor-general, who saw himself in no position to carry on war, was greatly embarrassed. The only resource left him was to gain over the Onondagas, and detach them from the league. He wrote to Father de Lamberville, who was still at Catarocouy, to which he had been carried over the ice in almost

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[1] This was, of course, a hearsay account that reached Canada. It is given in N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 390; but see Dongan's Address, N. Y. Col. Doc., iii., p. 533. He asked them whether they would consent to an armistice for fifteen months, or would continue the war, "I to joyne you with what power will be necessary."

[2] This was under Mr. de Ste. Helène; Belmont, Histoire du Canada, p. 27.

[3] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 390. Belmont says Ste. Helène was attacked at Tonihata, and had four men

1688.

a dying state.[1] At the same time that the general's letter was handed to that missionary, Father Vaillant arrived at Catarocouy, with two Indians whom Governor Dongan had given him to attend him on his return, and prevent his passing through the Mohawk canton.[2]

Father de Lamberville gained one of these two Indians, and induced him to go to Onondaga to inform that canton that the governor of New York was guided solely by self-interest while laboring to involve them in a war with the French. This Indian found all the cantons assembled, and a party of about a thousand men ready to dash down on the French settlements. He had no little difficulty in disabusing them of the false impressions which Colonel Dongan had given them, that the French were plotting some new treachery against them. He succeeded, nevertheless, in part, and even induced them to send deputies to treat with Mr. de Dénonville; but five hundred warriors resolved to accompany these deputies, under pretext of acting as an escort.[3]

When they arrived near Catarocouy, Haaskouaun, one of the deputies, called in French accounts *la Grande Gueule*, advanced from the party with six men, entered the fort, and asked the commandant for one of his officers to accompany him to Montreal. Mr. d'Orvilliers gave him the Sieur de la Perelle, his lieutenant, who, on embarking in that Indian's canoe, was quite surprised to see himself in the midst of six hundred well-armed warriors, and received in a manner to lead him to fear that he was a prisoner in their hands.[4]

They were, however, only making game of him, by ex-

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killed and one taken: Histoire du Canada, p. 28.

[1] Father Lamberville went to Niagara September 24, and was seized with the scurvy there. Ste. Helène was to bring him down from Catarocouy: Belmont, Histoire du Canada, p. 27.

[2] See Belmont, Histoire du Canada, p. 27.

[3] Charlevoix seems to follow conversations or notes of de Lamberville.

[4] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 390. Belmont says Outréouhati, otherwise called Grande Gueule, Black Kettle, and Gagniégoton.

1688. citing his fears. They conducted him as far as Lake St. Francis, where he met another body of Iroquois as numerous as the former. Both halted at this point, and allowed la Perelle, with the deputies, to proceed to Montreal alone. There they found the governor-general, who at once gave them audience. Haaskouaun, who was the spokesman, began by describing in extremely emphatic terms the advantageous position in which his nation stood, the weakness of the French, and the ease with which the cantons might exterminate them, or force them to leave Canada.

"For my part," he added, "I have always loved them, and I have just given an unequivocal proof; for on learning the design formed by our warriors to come and burn your forts, your houses, your barns, and your grain, in order that, reducing you to famine, they might make short work with you, I have so well argued in your favor that I have obtained permission to warn Onontbio that he might avoid this misfortune by accepting peace on the conditions proposed by Corlar. And then I can give you but four days to decide, for if you delay longer to adopt your course, I cannot answer for the consequences."[1] This Indian was a Seneca,[2] and the same who had spoken so insolently to Mr. de la Barre at Camp de la Famine.

Consternation of the colony.

So haughty an address, and twelve hundred Iroquois at Lake St. Francis, whence they could in less than two days fall upon the island of Montreal, filled all minds with consternation. To crown the misfortunes, information had just come in of the death of the Chevalier de Troye and all his garrison; and it was known that from Sorel River to Laprairie de la Magdeleine, the settlers durst not leave their houses for fear of falling into some hostile party. What most embarrassed the Marquis de Dénonville was the fear that by repulsing these parties with open force, he would break off the negotiations already begun with the Onondagas, to whom he had restored several prisoners ; he had even made one of them the bearer of the conditions on which he was willing to treat with that canton.

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[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 390.

[2] He was an Onondaga: Ante, p. 254.

These prisoners, on arriving at Catarocouy, found the fort invested by eight hundred Iroquois, who had already burned all the hay with fiery arrows, and killed all the cattle. Lake Ontario, too, was all covered with the enemy's canoes, which, to the number of four hundred, attacked a bark conveying men and provisions to Niagara. Two canoes even attempted to board it ; but two volleys from swivels, fired at the right moment, drove them off, and the wind springing up, bore the bark out of danger.[1]

Fortunately the chief in command of the force blockading Catarocouy, was uncle of the Indian prisoner sent by the governor-general to make his intentions known to the Onondagas. This chief was not insensible to the liberty given to his nephew, and his gratitude induced him to draw off with all his troops. Catarocouy was thus relieved at the very moment when they despaired of saving it.

New propositions of peace.

On the 8th of June, deputies from Onondaga, Oneida, and Cayuga arrived at Montreal, and asked peace in the name of the whole nation. These two unexpected events convinced the whole colony that Providence watched in a special manner over its preservation. The general, on his side, deemed it a duty to show more reluctance as his enemies took steps to approach him. He replied that he would willingly consent to peace, but that he would grant it only on these conditions : 1st. That all his allies should be included ; 2d. That the Mohawk and Seneca cantons should also send deputies for the same object ; 3d. That all hostilities should cease on both sides ; 4th. That he should be at perfect liberty to revictual Fort Catarocouy.[2]

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[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 395 ; Abstract of letters, August 10, November 6, 1688.

[2] In the N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 384, is a declaration of the Iroquois in presence of Mr. de Dénonville at Montreal, June 15, 1688, signed in behalf of the Oneidas, Cayugas, and Onondagas by Otreouaté, Garacontié, Orehouâé, Otatcheté, etc.

1688.

They are accepted.

He made no allusion to the fort at Niagara as having made the use of and for which they had asked its establishment; he was very glad to make a merit of yielding to the request of the deputies that he should demolish it.[1] His conditions were accepted, and the exchange of prisoners was regulated without any difficulty. Mr. de Dénonville had even already written to the court to solicit the recall of the Iroquois detained at Marseilles, and he had requested the minister to send Seriguy,[2] one of the sons of the Sieur le Moyne, then a cadet at Rochefort, to receive them. This young man spoke the language of these Indians quite well, he was esteemed by them, and the governor-general was satisfied that these prisoners would receive much better treatment at his hands than they had received from those who conveyed them to France.

The truce was consequently arranged on the spot. The Iroquois consented to leave five of their party as hostages, in order to assure the convoy preparing for Catarocouy, and it was agreed that if any hostility was committed by our allies during the negotiation, it should make change in what had just been agreed upon. However, when the convoy started, conducted by the Chevaliers de Callieres and Vaudreuil, and escorted on land by domiciliated Indians, some Iroquois carried off one canoe. Mr. de Dénonville was the more surprised at this as, before the departure of the convoy, an envoy of Colonel Dongan had reached Montreal, with Mademoiselle d'Alonne and twelve other French prisoners, and had handed him a letter from the king. It was a duplicate of one already received by the general, and related to the treaty of neutrality renewed by the two sovereigns.[3]

The governor of New York at the same time informed him that he had given orders to his envoy to withdraw all French prisoners from the Iroquois villages through which he might pass, and that it would not depend on him if there was not a perfect concert between them. Still, besides the hostile act just mentioned, the Iroquois soon appeared in our settlements, which had been stripped of men to strengthen the Catarocouy convoy. On the first tidings of this, the general called together all the troops left near his person, and marched to scatter these small parties. The enemy did not await him; but he pursued them and overtook some at Lake du St. Sacrement. He rescued from their hands two Frenchmen whom they were carrying off, killed some Mohegans, and took some Mohawks. From them he learned that Colonel Dongan had urged them to make this irruption, and had furnished them for the purpose with munitions and arms. Yet he had already received letters from the king, his master, to renew the treaty of neutrality, and that prince had warned him that he should answer in his own individual name for all contraventions committed against the treaty.[1]

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[1] Fort Niagara was abandoned, September 15, 1688. See statement of its condition: N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 386.

[2] He died not long since, captain of a ship of the line. *Charlevoix.* Dénonville in N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 395.

[3] N. Y. Colonial Documents, ix., p. 391.

Bad faith of Colonel Dongan.

The vigor and promptitude thus displayed by Mr. de Dénonville in arresting the course of these hostilities, obliged the Iroquois to keep themselves quiet, and the French availed themselves of it to gather their harvest. "God alone," wrote that general to Mr. de Seigneley, on the 10th of August, "could have preserved Canada this year. I have no merit in it: Mr. de Callières will tell you better than I can write how necessary Father de Lamberville has been to us, with what ability he has averted the storm which menaced us, in what a manner he sways the minds of these Indians, who are more clear-sighted than men think. If you do not find means of restoring these Fathers to their former mission, you must expect many misfortunes for this colony, for I must tell you that

To whom Mr. de Dénonville attributed the salvation of Canada.

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[1] This prompt action of Dénonville is not mentioned in the Relation of the Events of the War: N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 391. Charlevoix derived it probably from the letter of August 10.

1688. hitherto it has been their ability that has sustained the affairs of the country by the number of friends they have won among all the Indians, and their dexterity in managing the mind of these barbarians, who are savages only in name."[1]

"The Sedentary Fishery Company designs preventing the Jesuits from re-establishing the mission which they had among the tribes near Pentagoët (to which they returned last year at my request), and to retain those Indians in our interest, they having left them on account of the disorders caused in those parts by liquor. It is my duty to inform you that it will be a great misfortune for Acadia, if these gentlemen let these missions fall into other hands; for it must not be imagined that it is the work of five or six years to learn the language of these nations and govern them well. The best minds, after twenty years toil and hardship beyond description, sometimes find themselves deficient. . . . . Father Bigot is towards Pentagoët, in order to gather together a new village on the king's territories, and prevent their being drawn off by Chevalier Andros."[2]

Colonel Dongan recalled.

This knight commanded in New England in the absence of the governor-general, and he had just been appointed governor-general of New York.[3] He was a Protestant,

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[1] The abstract (N. Y. Col. Documents, ix., p. 393) does not contain this part.

[2] For an account of Sillery about this time, see St. Valier, Etat Présent, p. 68. We have Relations of Abnaki Missions by the Bigots in 1684 and 1685. In May, 1685, the mission was removed from Sillery to the Chaudiere, and fortified. Of the mission to Maine in 1688 I find nothing. Rev. Peter Thury of Quebec seminary was sent to Acadia in 1684 by Bp. Laval and by St. Valier in 1685: Etat Présent, p. 12. After laboring among the Gaspesians, he was sent to the Pentagoët, in 1687: Taschereau, Memoir on the Acadian Missions.

[3] He was captain-general and governor-in-chief in and over our colonies of the Massachusetts Bay and New Plymouth, our Provinces of New Hampshire and Maine, the Naraganset country or King's Province, our colonies of Rhode Island and Connecticut, our Province of New York, and East and West Jersey, and of all the tract from 40 N. to the River St. Croix, thence N. to the St. Lawrence, and by all that breadth to the Pacific, constituting "our

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and if Colonel Dongan, although a Catholic, had acted towards the French in the manner that we have seen, and deferred so little to the wishes of his sovereign, whose religion he followed, it was to be expected that his successor would not obey that prince's orders more exactly.[1] The event, as we shall soon see, justified only too well the fears of the colony in this matter; but this was not what most troubled the general.

It is a maxim founded on reason, and daily confirmed by experience, that every State, every society, whatever forms a body, ecclesiastical or civil, runs much less risk from those who attacked it from without than from the disorders which it suffers internally from the non-observance of laws, and by all other causes that weaken its constitution and sap the foundations on which it rests. On this principle the Marquis de Dénonville beheld only with grief the sad state to which New France was reduced by the misconduct and insubordination which characterized the majority of those of whom that colony was composed.

He expresses himself thus in a letter to Mr. de Seignelay, dated the same day as that cited, and I have believed that it would be read here with pleasure almost entire, because it is very instructive, and contains the reflections of a man whose thoughts were just, and whose views all tended to the good of the State, and never deviated from the truth. After a short exposition of the prodigious change, wrought within a few years in a country where religion good faith, and the strictest probity had so long reigned, he adds:

Letter of Mr. de Dénonville on the disorders of the colony.

"New settlements were pushed ahead of each other from a jealous desire to be nearer to the Indian trade without reflecting that, by not concentrating, they made it impossible for them to concert means of defence. . . . . .

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territory and dominion of New England in America." See Commission, N. Y. Col. Documents, iii., p. 537.

[1] His instructions required him to defend and protect the Iroquois if invaded by the French: N. Y. Col. Doc., iii., p. 548.

1688. The Bushlopers have committed another evil greater than can be conceived; it can only be known on the spot. Their cupidity has led them to commit the most despicable acts, which have rendered us contemptible, depreciated the goods, heightened the price of the beaver skins; and the Indians, naturally proud, seeing themselves sought, become still more so. Then came the misunderstanding between Mr. de la Barre and Mr. de la Sale; it divided the French and even the Indian allies. These divisions have kept alive quarrels among these latter, which have given great pain to our missionaries. The same misunderstanding between the general and Mr. de la Sale caused the first pillage which the Iroquois made of fifteen canoes loaded with goods, which they took from the French, believing, they said, that they thus executed the orders which they had received to plunder Mr. de la Sale's people. There had, in fact, been marks given to distinguish them. This mistake occasioned the war which Mr. de la Barre made on the Iroquois. It was always a great evil, and of very dangerous consequences, to empower these barbarians to assume rights over Frenchmen." We have seen Mr. de la Sale set the example first at (Green) bay, under color of his monopoly, "and it may well be that his enemies wished Mr. de la Barre to extort from him permission to make reprisals on his canoes, without telling him they would employ Iroquois to do this, a thing which that general, in all probability, would not have permitted."

Mr. de Dénonville then returns to the Bushlopers, whose number, he said, "is such that it depopulates the country of the best men, renders them indocile, incapable of discipline, debauched, and causes their children to be brought up like savages." He maintains that it was their roving that have occasioned those of the English among your allies, whom they have allured by cheaper goods, and whom it is almost impossible to divert from trading with New York. Speaking of the Indian wars, he says,

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"that no better idea can be conceived of them than to represent these barbarians as savage beasts scattered through a vast forest, whence they ravage all the neighboring countries. The colonists assemble to give them chase, inquire their retreat, and it is everywhere; they must be awaited with your hand on the trigger, and they are long awaited. They can be hounded only with hounds, and Indians are the only dogs that can be used for the purpose; but they are failing us, and the few that we have are not to be depended on; they are afraid of approaching the enemy, and dare not provoke him. The course that has been adopted has been to build forts in each seigneury as a refuge for the people and their cattle; moreover, the tilled lands lie far apart, and are so surrounded by woods, that at each field a corps of troops would be needed to support the field laborers. The sole and only means of making war was, to have troops enough to advance on the enemy by three routes at once; but to effect this would require four thousand men and provisions for two years, with four or five hundred batteaux, and all the other details of such an outfit, for to be obliged as we are to live from hand to mouth, is a sure way to build up nothing solid."[1]

Reflections on this letter.

The king was certainly not disposed to send to Canada the number of troops asked by the Marquis de Dénonville.[2] Many people even in the country were convinced, that to reduce the Iroquois, it required only a little more discipline in the troops at his disposal; and we shall see, before the close of this history, that if they did not succeed with the colonial forces alone, it was because it was not earnestly desired. It also seems that the general's alarmed imagination, or that of those to whose counsels he listened had somewhat magnified the objects; but it is certain that if the disorders of which he complained had been

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[1] Abstract of dispatches: N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 395.

[2] The minister's minute is: "This is not the time to think of that war. The king's forces are too much occupied elsewhere :" Ib.

1688. corrected, and especially if due measures had been taken to prevent young men running the woods, they might at all times have had a very excellent militia, which would have held in respect to the Iroquois and the English. The misfortune of New France is, that all who have wielded authority there, have not shown the zeal displayed by this general for due order, and that he himself had not all the firmness necessary to punish rigorously what he detested sincerely, and to make his orders respected.

Our allies much displeased with the peace.

He ardently desired to close the war; but he felt that it was neither just nor very safe even to conclude peace without the participation of our allies; and we have seen that he expressed himself distinctly to the deputies of the cantons; but either there was not time to inform the Indians of the general's intentions, or, as is more probable, these nations were persuaded, that the cantons were not treating in good faith hence almost all appeared greatly displeased at these negotiations. Some even evinced their contempt for us at a peace in which the Iroquois seemed to desire to impose conditions haughtily on us.

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